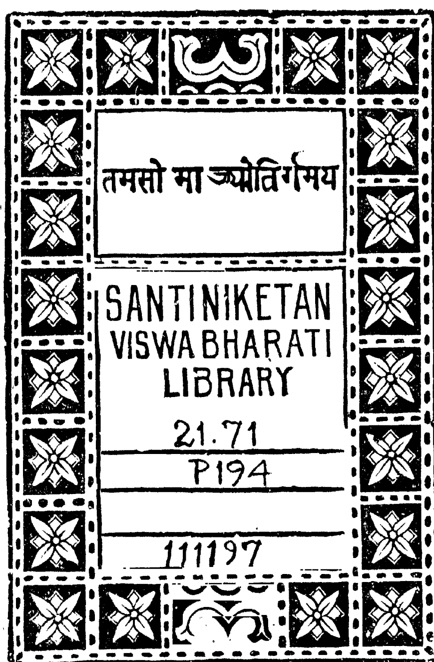

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PĀṆINĪYA ŚIKṢĀ

PĀNINĪYA ŚIKSĀ

OR

THE ŚIKṢĀ VEDAṄGA ascribed to PĀṆINI

(being the most ancient work on Indo-Aryan Phonetics)

Critically edited in all its Five Recensions with an Introduction, Translation and Notes together with its two Commentaries

BY

MANOMOHAN GHOSH, M.A., *Kavyatirtha*,

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA



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DEDICATED

TO

THE SACRED MEMORY OF

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

CONTENTS

PREFACE

The *Pāṇinīya-Śikṣā* ascribed to Pāṇini, the great grammarian of ancient India, is known as the Śikṣā-Vedāṅga. It was eighty years ago that Weber published a critical edition of this work in his *Indische Studien* (IV). This edition has long been out of print and besides this later researches and accession to new materials have made it necessary that the work should be edited afresh. Hence the present edition has been prepared. The importance of this work has been discussed in the Introduction. But one aspect of the critical study of the text of the *Pāṇinīya-Śikṣā* which has not been noticed there is that from such a study we can more or less clearly understand how literary documents of ancient India like the present text have in course of their transmission to the posterity added to their bulk through interpolation in successive periods. *Eighteen* couplets in which the original *Pāṇinīya-Śikṣā* was in all probablity composed had added to them in the present day text no less than *forty-two* couplets. This fact puts us on our guard against taking every syllable of an ancient work as of equal antiquity and we are inclined to turn our attention to higher criticism which has been attempted in this volume. The present editor however does not claim infallibility for himself and will consider himself to be amply paid for his labours if scholars will give him the credit for an honest attempt in pursuance of a well-known principle.

For various reasons the printing of this volume took nearly three years during which some amount of work related to the subject has been done. I have tried as far as has been possible for me to utilize or notice such work in the list of *addenda*. If however any important writing in this line has escaped my notice I should apologise to its author.

My best thanks are due to the authorities of the Calcutta University. for giving me every facility in the work and to my esteemed friend Pandit Amarendramohan Tarkatirtha of the Skt. MSS. Department, Calcutta University, for kindly helping me in reading the proof of the text portion, and also to the authorities of the India Office, the State Library of Berlin, of Munich, the University of Lund for lending MSS. or supplying rotographic copy of them. It is with great pleasure that I should mention here that the rotograph of the Śikṣā-pañjikā supplied by the University of Lund came as a gift to the Calcutta University. And finally I should offer my most grateful thanks to my teacher Prof. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji for his kindly making valuable suggestions while he went through this volume in MS. as well as in proof. It however goes without saying that for all views expressed in the work the responsibility remains entirely mine.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
June, 1938

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

Thick types (Devanāgarī) in pp. 3-6, 35-44 and *asterisks* in pp. 7-34 and *Arabic numerals* on the left of all these pages will indicate the position of the reconstructed text in different recensions.

An *asterisk* will indicate a spurious passage. When put before the first hemistich the asterisk relates to the entire couplet and it sometimes relates to an entire couplet together with a third hemistich. An Arabic numeral appearing on the left margin between a pair of double *daṇḍas* (*e.g.*, ॥ 13 ॥) signifies the position of the passage in the reconstructed text. A number prefixed to hemistich relates to it and the hemistich which precedes it; numbers with 'a' and 'b' after them indicate respectively the first and the second hemistich *only* of a couplet in the reconstructed text.

Bigger types in the Translation have been for the transcription and translation of passages of the PŚ., which have been considered original, and in Notes on them also such types have been used.

A.C.—After Christ.
AP.—The Agni-Purāṇa recension of the Pāṇinīya-Śikṣā.
B.C.—Before Christ.
DPS.—Dayānanda's Phonetic Sūtras.
Geschichte—Geschichte der indischen Literatur, Band III (or Vol. III).
HOS.—Harvard Oriental Series.
IAnt.—Indian Antiquary.
IHQ.—Indian Historical Quarterly.
JAOS.—Journal of American Oriental Society.
JBRAS.—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JDL.—Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.
JRAS.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Māṇḍ. Ś.—Māṇḍūkī Śikṣā.
Miśra.—Pāṇinīya Śikṣā, ed. by Pandit Kāliprasād Miśra, Benares, Saṃ. 1990.
Nār. Ś.—Nāradīya-Śikṣā.
Pñj.—The (Śikṣā) Pañjikā recension of the Pāṇinīya Śikṣā.
Prk.—The (Śikṣā) Prakāśa recension of the Pāṇinīya Śikṣā.
PŚ.—Pāṇinīya-Śikṣā as reconstructed by the Editor (pp. 1-3).
ṚPr.—The Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya.
ṚT.—The Ṛk-tantra-Vyākaraṇa.
Śarmā.—Pāṇinīya Śikṣā, ed. Rudraprasād Śarmā, Benares, 1937.
SBE. (S.B.E.)—Sacred Books of the East.
ŚS.—Śikṣā-saṃgraha.
Taitt. Pr.—Taittirīya Prātiśākhya.
Taitt. Up.—Taittirīya Upaniṣad.
TPr.—Taittirīya Prātiśākhya.

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Vāj. Pr.—Vājasaneyī Prātiśākhya.
VPr. — ,, ,,
Yaj.—The Yajuṣ recension of the Pāṇinīya Śikṣā.
Yv. Ś.—The Yājñavalkya Śikṣā.
ZDMG.—Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

उ.सू.—Uṇādi-Sūtras.
ऋक्—Ṛgveda.
ऋ. प्रा.—Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya.
गीता—Śrīmad-Bhagavad-Gītā.
छान्दो.—Chāndogya Upaniṣad.
ना. शि.—Nāradīya Śikṣā.
पा.—Pāṇinīya Aṣṭādhyāyī.
बृ. आ.—Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad
मनु—Manusmṛti.

N.B.—*References to the* ṚPr. (ऋ. प्रा.) *are always to the edition of* ***Paśupati Śāstrī.***

INTRODUCTION

1

1. *The Present Edition.* Among the large number of works known as the Śikṣās[1] the Indian tradition[2] accords the position of the Vedāṅga Śikṣā to the one connected with the name of Pāṇini (see §28). Weber in his edition of the Pāṇinīya Śikṣā (Indische Studien, IV) has however remained silent on this point. In his History of Sanskrit Literature too he did not give any decisive opinion in the matter, but later on Max Müller positively denied the validity of the traditional notion about the PS. being a Vedāṅga.[3] Since the days of Max Müller his view has been accepted by almost all the scholars without the slightest protest. Prof. Liebich may be said to have been a notable exception in this matter[4]; for he maintains that the PŚ. though late in its present form, is old in its contents. This view however has received very scanty attention from scholars who are otherwise very careful. Even two very recent writers who touched the subject, Mr. C. V. Vaidya and Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, have followed the view of Max Müller. Of these two the opinion of Mr. Vaidya deserves special mention because he is frankly against what he considers to be a late date (*c.* 1200 B. C.) for the Ṛgveda suggested by Max Müller, and is for

[1] Śrī-Yājñavalkyādi-Maharṣi-praṇītaḥ 'Śikṣā-saṅgrahaḥ,' Benares, 1893; Siddheshwar Varma, 'Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians,' London, 1929, pp. 29 ff.

[2] 'Pārāśarī Śikṣā,' 78, in the ŚS.; 'Prasthāna-bheda' in Weber's Indische Studien, I, p. 16; Siddheshwar Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 5; Durga in the Nirukta-vṛtti. ed. Bombay Skt. Series, p 24.

[3] 'History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature²,' p. 145.

[4] B. Liebich, 'Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft,' II, Heidelberg, 1919, p. 20; M. Winternitz 'History of Indian Literature,' Vol. I, p. 285, footnote 3; also Geschichte der indischen Literatur, Vol. III, p. 382, footnote 1.

placing this work as early as 4000 B. C.[1] But Mr. Vaidya does not make any effort to explain why the PŚ. should not be considered a genuine Vedāṅga belonging to the great antiquity he assigns to Pāṇini[2] and Yāska.[3] Dr. Siddheshwar Varma however gives some arguments to prove the lateness of the PŚ. But these, as we shall see later on (§§25 ff.) do not seem to be based on all available materials which might have given him a different view about the age and character of the work.[4] For he has known the PŚ. in *three* recensions only, while the work itself exists in no less that what may be called *five* recensions which read together critically are to give one a better idea about the age and character of the text. There is yet another scholar who not only considers the PŚ. to be a late work and hence not a Vedāṅga, but accords the same position to a Sūtra work ascribed, on very questionable grounds to Pāṇini.[5] We shall see later on (§§ 31-32) why this view is untenable, and this will bring us face to face with the text-history of the PŚ. for which a critical edition of the work is essentially necessary. Hence no apology need be offered for undertaking such an edition of the work together with that of the two commentaries attached to its two (late) recensions. Reasons which have led us to believe that the PŚ. is the original Vedāṅga Śikṣā will be discussed later on (§§28-30) and as such it is to be placed as early as Pāṇini who in all likelihood was its author (see § 33). This being the oldest treatise on the phonetics of Old Indo-Aryan—and possibly of Indo-European—deserves to be studied carefully for the history of the Vedic as well as Sanskrit sounds.

[1] History of Sanskrit Literature, Poona, 1930, Vol. I, Section I, pp. 25-40.

[2] *Op. cit.*, Sec. III, p. 8.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 5 f.

[4] The main arguments which Dr. Siddheshwar Varma adduces to show that the PŚ. is a not the Vedāṅga Śikṣā are as follows : (1) The PŚ. has no claim to be a *mūlāgama* or source of the Prātiśākhyas, (2) Piṅgala, and not Pāṇini, is the author of the PŚ. The first argument has been refuted in §§ 28-30, and the second in § 33.

[5] Dr. Raghu Vira, 'Discovery of the Lost Phonetic Sūtras of Pāṇini' in the JRAS., 1931, pp. 653 ff.

2. *The Critical Apparatus.* It has been mentioned above (§1) that the PŚ. is available in five recensions. Each of these recensions again is available in MSS. or printed texts with more or less varying readings. Hence before reconstructing the PŚ. on the basis of different recensions we shall have to find out the most representative text of each version and its age and special characteristics. For this purpose we have consulted various MSS. and printed texts and are giving below the results together with a description of them all.

(*a*) *The Agni Purāṇa Recension.* The Agni Purāṇa contains the shortest available text of the PŚ., which consists of 21½ couplets only. Among these AP. 1*b*-10, 17-21*c* correspond to PŚ. 1-3*a*, 10, 4*b*-7*a*, 8-13a, 15*a*, 16*b*, 17, 18 (see below the text of the AP. recension). The AP. recension omits one complete couplet (14) and halves of four others (7*b*, 13*b*, and 15*b*-16*a*) which the PŚ. in all likelihood contained. Grounds for such an assumption will be discussed below in the Notes (26*a*, 14, 23 and 30). AP. 1*a*, 11-16, which are late additions to the PŚ. will also be discussed in the Notes (2, 18, 48*a*, 49*a* and 38*a*). Besides these twenty couplets and a half the AP. recension includes the following which may justify us to assume the existence of the AP. 3*b*-4*a*.

> raṅgaś ca khe araṃ proktaḥ *hakāraṃ pañcamair yuktaḥ* ।
> *antaḥsthābhiḥ samāyuktaḥ* 'aurasya' 'kaṇṭhya' eva saḥ ॥

In this couplet we meet with the AP. 3*b* (italicised in the above quotation) and the two fragments of the second half of the same (put within the inverted commas). The reading *vakṣye mukhe' kṣaraṃ* (for *raṅgaś ca khe araṃ*) recorded by some MSS. seems to rule out the possibility of *yathā saurāṣṭrikā nārī*, etc. (Yaj. 6), ever occurring in the place of the AP. 3*b*-4*a*. This interpolation seems to be the work of some late scribe who under the influence of the Yaj. recension supplied the reading *raṅgaś ca*, etc., to the erroneously repeated AP. 3*b*-4*a*. unfortunately without any advantage. From a consideration of the possible

age of the Agni Purāna (*c.* 800 A.C.) later than Pāṇini by much more than 1000 years we may be justified to make an assumption about its defective tradition.

The representative text of the AP. recension of the PS. has been obtained from the following materials :

M. The Agni Purāṇa edited by Rajendra Lal Mitra and published in the 'Bibliotheca Indica' Series.

P. The Agni Purāṇa published from the Ānandāśrama, Poona. MSS. *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *gha* and *ṅa* used for this text have been indicated by *a*, *b*, *c*, *d* and *e* respectively.

V. The Agni Purāṇa with Bengali translation published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta.

(*b*) *The Pañjikā Recension.* As the commentary called the Śikṣā-Pañjikā does not contain the particular text, it follows, in a complete form, the Pñj. recension of the PS. had to be reconstructed to some extent conjecturally from the *pratīkas* of passages handled in the commentary. The compiler of the catalogue of Skt. MSS. in the India Office Library, London, has wrongly considered this to be identical with the Yaj. recension. But on comparing the latter (Yaj. rec.) with this we find that in some important points the two differ. For example, unlike the Yaj. the Pñj. contains the hemistich *anusvāra-yamānāṃ ca nāsikā sthānam ucyate* (PS. 11*a*) and *upadhmānīya ūṣmā ca jihvā-mūlīya-nāsike* (PS. 14*b*) and in this respect it falls in a line with the Prk. recension. Two passages (PS. 9, 10) though not explained in the Pañjikā seems to have existed in the text used by its author[1] (see Notes 26*a* and 28) and for this reason they have been included in the reconstructed text. Except these two, the Pñj. consists of 21½ couplets of which 4-19, correspond to PS. 1-18, respectively. On comparing

[1] The name of the author does not occur in any MS. But Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Shivadatta in his introduction to the Siddhānta-kaumudī (ed. Veṅkateśvara, Bombay, says *asya śikṣāyāḥ Rāghavācārya-kṛtaṃ bhāṣyam jāgartīti dik*. Now in some MSS. the Pañjikā has been called Bhāṣya (p. 17). It may be that Rāghavācārya is the author of the Pañjikā.

the Pñj. with the Prk. recension it appears that the latter is an inflated version of the former. There are no sufficient data to suggest any precise date for the Pñj. recension. But it appears by no means recent. For the Pañjikā quotes from one of the old authorities named Audavraji of whose exact time we have no information; but as he is mentioned by the Nār. S.,[1] a work, except for its interpolated passages, is as old as 200 B. C., he was probably older than this time. He has also been mentioned in the Ṛk-tantra Vyākaraṇa (Sāmaveda Prātiśākhya)[2] and in the Śikṣā-prakāśa,[3] another commentary to the PS. There being no mention of Audavraji in phonetical works which are palpably very late we may assume that at their time his work was lost and the author of the Pañjika flourished possibly earlier than a time when A.'s work was still available, and such was the case with the authors of the available Ṛk-tantra Vyākarana and the Śiksā-prakāśa.[4] Now the time for the Śiksā-prakāśa being placed tentatively between 1000 A. C. and 1300 A. C. we may consider the lower limit to the date of the Pñj. recension as the 1200 A. C. Along with this should be considered the fact that the Agni Purāṇa recension can be placed at the earliest in 800 A. C. Thus it appears that the Pñj. recension existed between 800 and 1200 A. C. The representative text of this recension of the PŚ. has been worked out from the following MSS. and printed text.

A[1]. Manuscript of the Śikṣā-Pañjikā in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 2834.

A[2]. MS. of the Pañjikā in the same Society, No. 1169.

A[3]. MS. of the Pañjikā in the same Society, No. 4180 C.

B. The rotograph of a MS. of the same procured by the Calcutta University from the State Library of Berlin.

1 Ed. SS., II, 8. 5.

2 Ed. Suryakanta Sastri, Sūtra 60.

3 Ed. SS., p. 288. See also the same edited below

4 See below on the Prak. recension.

C. The text of the Śikṣā-Pañjikā together with the PŚ. in its Ṛk recension printed in Benares, 1929 (Haridas Skt. Series No. 10) [Mr. Suryakanta Sastri mentions one such text printed in Benares in 1387 (*op. cit.*, introd., p. 33n.)]. But we have not seen it. From Mr. Sastri's quotation it seems to agree with HL.].

H. A manuscript of the Śikṣā-Pañjikā from the Royal Library of Munich. This was used by M. Haug.

I. A manuscript of the Śikṣā-Pañjikā from the India Office Library.

L. The rotograph of the Śikṣā Pañjikā presented to the Calcutta University by the University of Lund.

(c) *The Prakāśa Recension.* As was the case with the Pañjikā recension this also had to be reconstructed from the *pratīkas* of the passages explained in the commentary called the Śikṣā-prakāśa. Having had to depend on rather imperfect materials we can never be sure that these restored texts were actually before their respective commentators. The most we can claim for these texts, is that they surely contained these particular passages in approximately the same form. But in case of the Prk. recension this claim can be admitted only subject to the limitation that the actual order in which some of the couplets occurred is not known. The Prk. passages, of the position of which in the text we are not sure, have been marked with an asterisk in the Table C, showing their relative position. This recension but for the inclusion of one hemistich (Prk. 22*a*) and the exclusion of one couplet (Yaj. 34) and the different order in which the different passages of the Yaj. recension have been arranged, is similar to the latter. But the confused manner in which the passages are available in the Yaj. recension gives us grounds to assume that the same were reduced to writing from memory at a time later than the composition of the Śikṣā-prakāśa and hence we have taken it as a separate recension.

The date of the Prakāśa recension may be considered to be later than that of the Pñj. for the simple reason that the

former is much longer than the latter and the increase in bulk has needed some time. But the Śikṣā Prakāśa may not be earlier than the 10th century. For he seems to quote a long passage *verbatim* from the commentary of Viṣṇumitra on the Ṛk Prātiśākhya (*vide infra*). Now this Viṣṇumitra seems to be a predecessor or at best a contemporary of Uvaṭa (1100 A.C.). Besides this, from the introduction to the Śikṣā Prakāśa we learn that the anonymous author wrote a commentary to Piṅgala's metrics. Now the only commentary available for the Chandaḥ-sūtras of Piṅgala is by Halâyudha[1] who was the minister of the king Lakṣmaṇa Sena (*c.* 1200 A.C.) of Bengal. Hence we may tentatively assign the Prk. recension to a time about 1200 A.C. It may be that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (*c.* 1500 A.C.), author of the Prasthāna-bheda described this recension as the p a ñ c a-khaṇḍâtmikā and it is sure he did not mean the Ṛk recension, for that is e k ā d a ś a-khaṇḍâtmikā (see the text below).

The text of the Śikṣā-prakāśa or the Prakāśa Recension has been edited from :

L. The rotograph of a MS. from the University of Lund.

Be. A version of the Prakāsa printed in the Śikṣā-saṃgraha from Benares.

(*d*) *The Yajus Recension*. This recension of the PŚ. has been carefully edited by Weber in his Indische Studien, IV, pp. 345 ff., on the basis of two MSS., B and W, of which W is dated Saṃvat 1696. Occasional help from three MSS. of the Ṛk. recension C, D and L has also been taken in this. For all practical purposes this edition being faultless we have adopted it leaving out its minor details. Special characteristics of this recension have already been indicated (§ 2*c*).

(*e*) *The Ṛk Recension*. This recension has also been edited by Weber (*loc. cit.*) on the basis of three MSS., C, D and L. Omitting some minor details we have adopted this edition after comparing it with the following :

[1] Weber places him in the second half of the 10th century. See Ind. Stud., VIII, p. 193; also Winternitz, Geschichte, Bd. III, p. 27.

Ch. The PŚ. published along with the Śikṣā-Pañjikā from Chowkhamba, Benares, 1929.

This recension is scarcely much older than the 18th century; for MSS. of this used by Weber are all later than Saṃvat 1833 and we have come across no earlier MS. This is the most inflated version of the PŚ. and contains nearly 60 stanzas. Only 17½ among these may be taken as genuine. These are Ṛk 4-11, 13, 16-19, 22-23, 38-40*a* corresponding to PŚ. 1-8, 9, 11-13, 14*a*, 15, 16*a*, 16*b*-18, respectively. The nature and source of the re maining 42 couplets have been discussed below (§ 3).

3. *Reconstruction.* From a very close study of its five recensions eighteen only of the couplets appear to constitute the original PŚ. Only fourteen among them, however, occur in all the recensions,[1] while the remaining couplets do not so occur. But on internal evidence they appear to be organically connected with the fourteen couplets common to all recensions and hence surely occurring in the original PŚ. Problems connected with them have been discussed in detail in Notes given along with the translation of the PŚ. Sources of more than half of the remaining forty-two couplets which we consider to be later additions to the text of the PŚ. have been traced to different late Śikṣā[2] works. Of the remaining twenty couplets the source of which we could not explore, at least eight (Ṛk 1-3, and 56-60, and passages corresponding to them in other recensions), can probably be credited to the editors of different recensions. The remaining twelve were, in all likelihood, taken also from some late Śikṣās lost to us. Grounds on which we have considered a passage or group of passages spurious or later additions have also been discussed in Notes. From

[1] See the conspectus of Text-Units of the different recensions given at the end of this Introduction.

[2] Cases of later Śikṣās can to some extent be compared with those of the later Upaniṣads (cf. Winternitz, History of Ind. Lit., Vol. I, p. 239). In order to give authenticity to their own theory or practice later writers on Vedic phonetics have called their works Śikṣās. These late works are nevertheless important for the study of Indo-Aryan phonetics.

a study of the interpolated passages it appears that the custodians of the Vedāṅga Śikṣā have at different times made desperate efforts to preserve this small treatise consisting of only eighteen couplets, from extinction. Lest it should fall out of use before later works on the subject, which for the time being gave better guidance to the reciter of the Vedic texts they culled some new materials from these and tagged them on to the PŚ. in different relays. Even this method though resorted to sometimes were not exclusively followed. To supplement this they put it along with other works on similarly important subjects in the body of a big compilation like the Agni Purāṇa. A case which seems to be analogous to this is the alleged interpolation of the Bhagavad-Gītā in the corpus of the Mahābhārata. For a tabular statement of the growth[1] of PŚ. showing the distribution of genuine and interpolated passages in its different recensions,[1] see Table A.

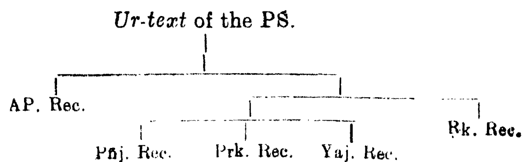
Table A.

Recensions.	Total Number of Hemistichs.	Interpolation.		
		Total.	Traced.	Untraced.
Agni Purāṇa	43	13	12	1 (—1 editorial)
Pañjikā	50	14	2	12 (—12 „)
Prakāśa	68	33	20	13 (—13 „)
Yajuḥ śākhā[2]	70	35	20	15 (—12 „)
Ṛk śākhā	120	85	44	41 (—16 „)

1 Compare with this the growth of the text of the Nirukta (Prof. L. Sarup's Introduction, pp. 19-20; S. Sastri, Ṛk-tantra, Lahore, 1933, Introduction, pp. 45, 46) and of the Uṇādi-Sūtras (Prof. Goldstücker, Pāṇini : his place in Skt. Literature, London, 1861, pp. 131, 170; Reprint from Allahabad, 1914, pp. 130, 139; S. Sastri, *ibid*).

2 For the meaning of the Śākhā see below (§§ 18ff.).

From a study of the above table as well as the contents of the different recension we can suggest the mutual relation of the different recensions as follows :



2

SIX VEDĀṄGAS

4. Before taking up the history of growth and development of individual Vedāṅgas it would be proper to enquire into conditions which made it obligatory for the Vedic priests to admit as a part of the sacred lore six subjects, the study of which was necessary either for the recitation, the understanding or the proper sacrificial employment of the Vedic hymns. Materials for such a study are indeed very poor. We have few relics of that early age when the Vedic seers were composing songs of praise or adoration to their deities with the least idea of their later complicated use in various rituals and ceremonies. Hence, how and when the simple utterances of the early Indo-Aryans who entered India most probably sometime after the beginning of the second mellennium B. C.,[1] began to be considered sacred and meant specially to be used in sundry rituals, will probably remain a mystery for all time to come. But it will not be out of place to make here the following *a priori* considerations.

5. As a great many of the subsequent ramifications observable in the Vedic cult (*e. g.*, those in the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras) have been found to be non-existent among Indo-European people of other countries it may be assumed that a great part of them owe their origin to the influence of some widespread pre-Vedic cult or cults of India.[2] In case of the Old Indo-Aryan

[1] *Cf.* Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 299ff., 310; ZDMG., 1934, pp.*23* *24* Thumb-Hirt, 'Handbuch des Skt.' I. Teil : Grammatik, Zweite Auflage, §27 and *Nachtrag* to the same. Prof A. B. Keith holds a different view. See 'The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads," H O S., 1925, p. 7.

[2] S. K. Chatterji, 'Origin and Development of the Bengali Language,' pp. 26, 31f. also *cf.* Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

language a similar pre-Aryan influence has already been postulated to account for the development of cerebral sounds as well as a portion of the Old Indo-Aryan vocabulary.[1] If such an influence played any considerable part in giving shape to the Vedic religion it may be said to have practically finished a great part of its work about 1000 B. C.[2] as far as the Indian Midland was concerned ; for a very long time must have been necessary for the pre-Aryan Indians to get reconciled with the hostile new-comers and ultimately to accept their faith and culture. Now the ethnic constitution of the modern Indians who profess adherence to the Vedas shows that a great majority of them has come from non-Aryan stocks. Thus one will probably be justified to assume here a conversion—may be unconscious—of the non-Aryan people to Vedic religion, which was responsible for such a state of things ; and such a conversion in all likelihood began to progress with considerable force about 1000 B. C. when the Vedic people and their ways were in all probability not only no longer displeasing but also was becoming attractive to the pre-Aryan people of the land, and a progressive section of them had already been Aryanised as far as their religion was concerned. And even some blood-mixture with the new-comers is much likely to have occurred at this stage. It is quite possible that the six Vedāṅgas partly grew up and partly took shape under the circumstances demanded by an effort on the part of these progressive non-Aryans and their descendants to acquire thoroughly the Vedic culture, a great deal of which was essentially connected with religious practices.

6. It is conceivable that these neo-Vedic people consisting of Aryanised non-Aryans as well as mixed Aryans took more than ordinary interest in Aryan faith and culture, and

[1] S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, pp. 37f., 170f.

[2] Oldenberg places the period of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads (of course old ones) between 900 B. C.-700 B. C. (Buddha, : his Life, his Doctrines, etc., Calcutta, 1927, pp. 14-15). The Brāhmaṇas are characteristically the product of that period in which primitive Indo-Aryans were very much influenced by pre-Aryans of India.

later on their descendants began to get ashamed of their extra-Aryan origin and wished very much to pass themselves off as thorough-bred Aryans.[1] But a great obstacle in their way was indeed the colour of their skin as well as their language and customs. For the time being difficulties seemed insuperable, but they did not remain so for a long time. Means were gradually discovered for concealing their ethnic and cultural origin.

7. The famous Puruṣa-sūkta (Ṛgveda, X. 90) having been revealed (*c.* 1000 B. C.) the question of colour became explicable without reference to any ethnic mixture though such a thing had in a manner had to be recognized later in a rather queerly formulated *Varṇasaṅkara* theory of the Dharma-sūtras to explain the existence of different non-Aryan groups which entered rather late within the pale of the society organised in the *Varṇāśrama* principle.

8. The language and customs were from their very nature ill suited to remain hidden under the Vedic revelation. Habits whether of speech or of other matters die indeed very hard. Though the exigencies of their religious rites compelled them to recite the Vedic mantras and to use the sacred tongue, the neo-Aryans surely used in their family or tribal circles their traditional speech while during their intercourse with the Aryans a jargon consisting of varying degrees of Aryan and non-Aryan was prominent. This state of things, as can be easily imagined, was detrimental to the purity of the Vedic speech and occasionally gave rise to *mlecchita* (corrupted) speech condemned so much by the custodians of the Vedic culture (*Brāhmaṇena na mlecchitaṃ vai*, etc. Patañjali, ed. Kielhorn, Vol. 1, p. 2). Thus the necessary incentive was furnished to contemporary leaders of the Vedic religion, who surely included neo-Aryans too, for studies in phonetics (*śikṣā*), metrics (*chandas*), grammar (*vyākaraṇa*) and

[1] A case parallel to this is to be found in the attempt on the part of some descendants of non-Anglo-Saxon people of America to pass as people of Anglo-Saxon origin.

vocabulary (*nighaṇṭu*).[1] The contents of the *Kalpa*-sūtra which branched off later on to Śrauta,[2] Gṛhya and Dharma-sūtras may also be said to have received attention at that time when the neo-Vaidikas were trying to assume the appearance of thorough-bred Aryans and for this purpose they required a set of codified rules by followiug which they could be trained in Vedic ways. Oldenberg who does not pay any attention to the ethnic composition of the Vedic people seems to consider that a training in the Vedic ways was a priestly imposition on the other Aryan classes. (See 'Buddha, His Life, His Doctrines, His Order,' Calcutta, 1927, pp. 14-15.) As, for various ceremonies the observation of correct date and days of the moon was already a necessity even before the conscious Aryanizing activities began, the study of astronomy (*jyotiṣa*) commenced earlier[3]; but it is probable that its results were not gathered in a written treatise till later when some of the earliest available texts of other Vedāṅgas have been composed.

9. One of the earliest references to the six aṅgas of the Veda occurs in the Ṣaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda[4] which on linguistic grounds has been considered to be pre-Pāṇinian.[5] And in the Muṇḍakôpaniṣad (*circa* 700 B. C.) too the six Vedāṅgas have been enumerated.[6] In a passage of the Gautama Dharma sūtra (*circa* 500-400 B.C.) we learn that as his authorities on the administration of justice the king was to take among other things the Vedāṅga (VIII. 5 ; XI. 19 ; SBE., Vol. 33, p. 234; Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 519). In the Āpastamba

[1] Prof. Lakshman Sarup has a different opinion on this point (Translation and Notes of the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta, pp. 221-223). He is also unwilling to recognize Pāṇini's grammar or Nighaṇṭu or similar other works as Vedāṅgas (*loc. cit.*).

[2] Śrauta Sūtras in fact represented the Kalpa sūtras most. For according to the Śikṣā Prakāśa commentary to the PŚ. kalpa is the science of rituals.

[3] Max Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 211 ff.

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 112-113.

[5] Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 191.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 268. For the time of Muṇḍaka, see Hertel's edn., pp. 64ff.

Dharma sūtra (*c*. 500 B.C.)[1] too Vedāṅgas have been mentioned twice (I. 10, 28, 21 ; II. 4, 8, 10). This sūtra work also enumerates the six aṅgas, one of which is of course the Śikṣā (II. 4, 8, 10).[2] In spite of these very early references to Vedāṅgas with or without their number, earlier scholars were not prepared to admit that such references implied 'the existence of six distinct books or treatises intimately connected with the sacred things' and in their opinion these references implied merely the admission of six subjects, the study of which was necessary either for the recitation, the understanding, or the proper sacrificial employment of the Vedic hymns (Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 109 ; Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 268). But as we have seen before that conditions favourable for the rise of the Vedāṅgas were probably in existence as early as 1000 B.C. and as the beginning of these studies at the time of the early Brāhmaṇas are attested by reliable references the existence of written treatises on Vedic aṅgas about 600 B. C. can by no means be considered to be impossible. The most one can assume about such works in the absence of suitable evidence, is that they have probably been lost. But to consider them to be non-existent after a lapse of nearly four centuries during which Vedic priests could compose voluminous Brāhmaṇas will indeed be a unique piece of inconsistency. Max Müller's schematic division of the Vedic period into Chandas, Mantra, Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra periods perhaps lie at the back of this kind of unreasonable view. It is not possible that such closely divided ages ever existed ; some overlapping has surely occurred ; some at least of the Vedāṅga treatises were written in the Brāhmaṇa period—may be towards its end. For it is scarcely possible that when an energetic and intelligent people like the Indo-Aryans were already composing works like the

1 SBE., Vol. 33, xliii ; also Batakrishna Ghosh, 'Apastamba and Gautama' in IHQ., 1927, pp. 607ff.

2 J. Charpentier places without any justification the origin of the Vedāṅgas between 300-100 B.C. (see his ed. of the Uttarādhyayanasūtrā, pp. 31-32).

Brāhmaṇas, small treatises on the Vedāṅgas which, as we already noticed (§ 5), must have been a vital necessity with them about 1200 B.C. and after, were not then being prepared. Thus we are justified to assume that treatises on different Vedāṅgas might have been in existence between 1000-600 B.C.[1]

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[1] *Cf.* Siddheshwar Varma, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 4.

3

Śikṣā

10. We have seen above under what possible conditions the Vedic priests might have turned their attention to the pronunciation of their sacred language and how this attention ultimately gave rise to the Śikṣā-vedāṅga. But, as can very naturally be expected, the word Śikṣā did not continue to mean the same thing during the different stages of its evolution.

11. According to Pāṇini (VII. 4. 58) the word Śikṣā has been derived from the desiderative of śak, 'to be able.'[1] Thus the literal meaning of śikṣā will be 'a desire to be able.' It is very difficult to understand how this rather curious meaning finally developed into 'phonetics.' It is indeed due to this difficulty that Weber and Max Müller have cut the Gordian knot by a bold assumption that √ śikṣ means originally 'a desire to know' (*zu können suchen*) though it must be admitted that 'knowing' cannot very well be equated to 'pronunciation.'[2] But, from the discussion made above of the conditions under which Śikṣā as a subject of study arose, the original meaning of this word seems to be plain enough. For were not the newly Aryanized people with their different ancestral speech-habit ill able to recite the Vedic mantras in a faultless manner ? Now it may well be assumed that the difficulty in their case who had a totally different linguistic basis was so great that learners among them *had to have indeed a very strong 'desire to be able' to recite the Vedic hymns*. Possibly on such a hypothesis alone can we understand how the original meaning of 'to desire to be able' came to be narrowed down 'to desire to be able to recite the Vedas correctly' and from this finally

[1] See Lüders, Vyāsaśikṣā. p. 1.
[2] Weber, Ind. Stud., IV, p. 345.

developed the sense of the study of pronunciation. Thus the original import of the term Śikṣā seems to have embedded in it an important history.

12. Now the Vedic pronunciation as we see from the Śikṣās and Prātiśākhyas was more or less a complex affair. But it is not so much possible that all phases of this complexity were felt all at once at the very beginning when attention began to be given to pronunciation[1]; even in case of its being felt these different aspects of it could not be handled with success at the very beginning. Whatever might be the case it is pretty sure that with the early Vedic phoneticians (Śikṣākāras) matters were simple enough and only the fundamentals occupied their attention. Our evidence in this matter comes from Patañjali who in his definition of a typical priest (*ārtvijīna*) says that he should be able to use the (Vedic) speech with (properly inflected) words (*pada*), with (proper) accent (*svara*) and with the (properly articulated) speech-sounds (*varṇas*).[2] From this we learn that the observation of the proper accent as well as the right pronunciation of speech-sounds were Śikṣākāras' chief object of study. And a later authority Viṣṇumitra, a commentator of the ṚPr., defines the Śikṣā as *svara-varṇópadeśaka-śāstram*,[3] the science which teaches accent and the speech-sounds (*varṇa*). Madhusūdana Sarasvatī too says the same thing more elaborately.[4] Hence we see that the correct production of speech-sounds in general and the pitch and quantity of vowels comprised

[1] In order to appreciate these we are to take notice of different stages in the phonetic evolution of the Middle Indo-Aryan. See S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*

[2] *yo vā imāṃ padaśaḥ svaraśo' kṣaraśo vācaṃ vidadhāti sa ārtvijīnaḥ* (Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I, p. 3). *Pada* in this passage does not mean 'Versstollen' though in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa this is the meaning (see B. Liebich, Zur Einürhrung, II, §§ 3-4) and *akṣara* does not mean here syllable in connection with metrics but with phonetics, for Patañjali says later on that Vedic words are taught to those who know places of articulation, adjustment of organs and the vocal words. This probably shows phonetics was studied earlier than metrics.

[3] v. l. *svara-varṇoccāranópadeśaka* ṚPr., ed. Benares, p. 10; S. Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[4] *tatra śikṣāyā udāttānudāttasvarita-hrasvadīrghaplutaviśiṣṭa-svaravyañjanātmaka-varṇo-ccāraṇa viśiṣṭa-jñānaṃ prayojanam.* Weber, Ind. Stud., I, p. 16.

the sole scope of the Śikṣā at the earliest stage of its development. It is quite possible that there was no written treatise on these topics, the Ācārya teaching the young learner (*brahmacāri*)[1] by words of his mouth, and it was only a little later that the earliest manual on different topics of the Śikṣā came to be written down. Now of the two phases of pronunciation that were considered important in the beginning, the proper instruction of the speech-sounds was probably reduced to a system first of all. We do not know what this system was like, but in view of somewhat phonetic arrangement of *varṇas* in the Varṇa-samāmnāya or the so-called Śiva-sūtras [2] we are tempted to assume that this—probably in some earlier form—constituted the first treatise on the instruction of speech-sounds. The word *samāmnāya* 'traditional recitation' probably gives support to this view. Kātyāyana also seems to give it support while he says *vṛtti-samavāyārtha upadeśaḥ*, the enunciation (of the speech-sounds in the Śiva-sūtras) is meant for arranging the varṇas in a proper order for (the facility of) recitation.[3]

[1] The prescription of a long residence of the very young Brahmacārin (coming in some cases from extra-Aryan groups) with the Ācārya, in the Gṛhya-sūtras resulted and seems to be meant for a linguistic rebirth (*dvijatva*).

[2] Prof. B. Faddegon says that the Śiva-sūtra as a phonetical classification deserves the highest praise ('The mnemontechnics of Pāṇini's Grammar,' Acta Orientalia, VII, 1929, p. 54). Mr. K. C. Chatterji is against such a view (see Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. XXIV).

[3] In this translation we have ventured to differ from Patañjali on the interpretation of the word *vṛtti* which he explains as *śāstra-pravṛttiḥ* (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 13). Our translation of the word as 'recitation' has its support from the well-known couplet *abhyāsārthe drutāṃ vṛttim*, etc. (RPr., XIII. 19, Yaj., 22, etc.). Compare also the word *āvṛtti* recitation. If Patañjali has misunderstood Kātyāyana there is no wonder about it; according to his own testimony Patañjali lived in a decadent age as regards the proper teaching of the Vedas. He says: In the hoary antiquity it was like this: Brahmans after their *upanayana* studied grammar. And when they have learnt the places of articulation of sounds, the adjustment of organs and vocal chord in producing them, they were given instruction in Vedic words. But to-day it is not so. Reading the Veda (straight) one quickly becomes a reciter of the same. (*Purā kalpa etad āsit, saṃskārōttarakālaṃ Brāhmaṇā vyākaraṇaṃ smādhiyate, tebhyas tatra sthānakaraṇānupradājñebhyo Vaidikā śabdā upadiśyante. tad adyatve na tathā. Vedam adhitya tvaritā vaktāro bhavanti.*) The use of the word *kalpa* is very significant. It literally means 432 million years but is used here in the sense of 'hoary antiquity.' This

13. There may however be some objection to the above view on the following grounds : (*i*) in the Varṇa-samāmnāya long and pluta vowels have been omitted, (*ii*) unvoiced stops have not been arranged in the same order as the voiced ones, (*iii*) the absence of yama, anusvāra, visarga, jihvā-mūliya and upadhmānīya in it and (*iv*) the *h* of the sūtra *ha-ya-va-ra-ṭ* and the sūtra *ha*-l at the end duplicating *h*, is inexplicable.

14. Now in reply to the first objection it may be said that a person learning short vowels correctly will naturally find it easy to produce their long and protracted varieties, and it is for this reason that the author of the Varṇa-samāmnāya did not probably like to make it unnecessarily cumbersome for the beginner by inclusion of these sounds, for the quantity of the vowel constituted a separate subject of instruction (see PŚ. 7). That voiced and unvoiced consonants have not been arranged in the same order in the Varṇa-samāmnāya cannot go against its phonetic character ; on the contrary, by varying the places of articulation in the utterance of the sounds their mechanical and hence wrong pronunciation has possibly been guarded against. Or it might be for the sake of his Pratyāhāras Pāṇini had to arrange the sounds like this. As for the omission of yama and anusvāra, etc., it may be said that being development of sounds already existing in the Varṅa-samāmnāya they do not appear there. Regarding the repetition of the sound ***h*** it may be said that there were possibly two *h*'s recognized in the Old Indo-Aryan, one *voiced* and another *unvoiced*. The fact that the second *h* is taken along with *ś*, *ṣ* and *s*, may justify us in making the above assumption. Prof. Sköld has tried to explain this double *h* by assuming that the Varṇa-samāmnāya might have been altered since its first formation and the last sūtra has probably been a later creation (Papers on Pāṇini, p. 20).

passage shows that the chronological distance between Patañjali and the early writers on Vedic phonetics as well as Pāṇini might be very great or the progress of Buddhism that preceded Patañjali must have been very detrimental to the Vedic studies or both might be facts.

15. As for the authorship of the Varṇa-samāmnāya we have no means of deciding whether it was made by some pre Pāṇinîan authority (Śiva, Maheśvara) or Pāṇini.[1] All we can reasonably assume is that Pāṇini might have adopted the already existing material (the Śiva-sūtras in their original form), with certain changes, as the matrix of his pratyāhāras, and the Śikṣā connected with his name was perhaps the work to which was prefixed this Varṇa-samāmnāya and furnished the basis of Pāṇini's grammar and phonetics. The relation of the PŚ. to this work which in its original form may go back to the first age of the Śikṣā-Vedāṅga (1000-600 B.C.) will be considered later (§ 20).

16. The scope of the Śikṣā as given in the Taittiriya Upaniṣad probably brings us to the second stage in the evolution of this Vedāṅga. According to this Upaniṣad (I. 2) the Śikṣā consists of *svara* 'pitch accent,' *mātrā* 'quantity,' *bala* 'stress,' *sāma* 'utterance in a medium tone,' and *santāna* (*saṃhītā*, 'euphonic combination.'[2] While referring to the Śikṣā in his introduction to the Ṛgveda-bhāṣya Sāyaṇa thinks of the developed state of this Vedāṅga even when he says *varṇa-svarâdyuccāraṇa-prakāro yatra upadiśyate sā śikṣā*; for he brings in the

[1] Prof B. Faddegon says : Most likely the Śiva Sūtra is of earlier date than the Aṣṭādhyāyī (*op. cit.*, p. 56). Dr. Mangal Deva Shastri too thinks that the Śiva-sūtras are pre-Pāṇinian ('The Relation of Pāṇini's Technical Devices to his Predecessors' in the Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Conference, Allahabad, Vol. II, 1928, pp. 469f.). Mr. K. A. Subrahmania Iyer however thinks that the Śiva Sūtras are Pāṇini's own (On the Fourteen Māheśvara Sūtras, *ibid*, p. 142). Dr. P. Thieme thinks as follows : The idea of some modern scholars that this dogma (*i.e.*, the divine revelation of the Śiva-sūtra) contains as a 'historical nucleus' the fact that Pāṇini did not compose the 'Śiva Sūtras' himself, is nothing short of absurd (*op. cit.*). But his view that Patañjali took it for granted that the Śiva Sūtras are P.'s work seems to be wrong. Patañjali merely says in this connection that *etad jñāpayaty ācāryaḥ* (Pāṇini). The verb *jñāpayati* (suggests) has the same root as *jñāpaka* (a suggested or implied precept) so often used in the Mahābhāṣya.

[2] The translation of the terms given above is based on Saṅkara's Bhāṣya of the Taitt. Up. ; *cf.* the translation of these terms by Prof. Winternitz (A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 282). Macdonell in pursuance of Sāyaṇa translates these as letters, accents, quality, pronunciation and euphonic rules (see Hist. of Skt. Lit., p. 256). Dr. Siddheshwar Varma translates *varṇa* as 'individual sounds,' *svara* as 'accent,' *santāna* as 'chanting of the Vedic verses' and in this connexion he ignores *bala* totally (see his Critical Studies, p. 4).

passage from the Taitt. Up. (1.2). According to him *svara-varṇādayaḥ* means *varṇa, svara, mātrā, bala, sāma* and *santāna*. But the fact that Sāyaṇa in his Veda-bhāṣya quotes from Prātiśākhyas does not invalidate his testimony about the Vedāṅga Śikṣā which according to him is the PŚ. For he mentions no less than three couplets (PŚ. 8, 9, 10) of the latter work.[1] As Uvaṭa, one of Sāyaṇa's predecessors, in his introduction to the commentary of the Ṛk Prātiśākhya has considered this work to be a Śikṣā[2] we can easily believe that Sāyaṇa was fully conscious about the historical relation between the PŚ. and the Prātiśākhyas and he surely followed a correct tradition in according due honour to each kind of works on the subject. For the Prātiśākhyas, though one of them has called itself a Vedāṅga,[3] were, as we shall see presently, the Śikṣā manuals belonging to the second stage in the development of this Vedāṅga, and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī too was aware of this fact.[4] The position of the Prātiśākhyas in the history of ancient Indian phonetic literature seems to have been very much misunderstood.[5] And in order to appreciate their proper position as well as that of the Vedāṅga Śikṣa composed by Pāṇini we must now inquire into the nature and scope of the Prātiśākhyas and their time.

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[1] Sāyaṇa evidently used one of the very late recensions of the PŚ. for he says *sa vedāṅgabhūta-śikṣā-granthe spaṣṭam udīritaḥ 'triṣaṣṭiś' catuḥṣaṣṭir vā varṇā sambhavato mataḥ'* etc. (Pnj. Prak. Yaj. and Ṛk. 3.)

[2] *tathāpy asyāṃ śikṣāyāṃ dantyamūlīya iti repho dantyamūlīya ity uktaḥ* (ed. Sāmaśrami, p. 14). Madhusūdana too calls Prātiśākhyas Śikṣās; see the Note 5 below.

[3] ṚPr. XIV. 30 ; Madhusūdana seems to be of opinion that the Prātiśākhyas too are Vedāṅgas.

[4] *tatra sarva-vedasādhāraṇaśikṣā Pāṇininā prakāśitā pratiVedaśākhaṃ ca bhinnarūpā prātiśākhyasaṃjñitā anyaireva munibhiḥ prakāśitā.*

[5] *Cf.* Max Müllar, *op. cit.*, p. 116f. ; Winternitz, Vol. I, p. 283 ; Kielhorn in I. Ant., 6, pp. 144, 193 *contra* which Burnell, Ṛk-tantra Vyākaraṇa, pp. xlix-l ; S. Sastri, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 40. Exceptions are Goldstücker 'Pāṇini', p. 184, and Paul Thieme, 'Pāṇini and the Veda,' Allahabad, 1935, pp. 81ff.

4

PRĀTIŚĀKHYAS

17. Before entering into any discussion about the origin, nature and scope, etc., of the Prātiśākhyas it would be proper to examine the term about the meaning of which there seems to exist some misunderstanding. The word consists of three parts: *prati*, *śākhā* and the formative element. Of these, the exact meaning of *śākhā* should be determined first of all.

18. The śākhā, as is well-known, relates to the different Vedic schools; but we do not know whether the śākhā refers to the one u n d i v i d e d Veda or to e a c h of the different Vedas, such as, Ṛk, Sāman, Yajus (Black and White), etc. Let us first consider the case of an undivided Veda. From the story occurring in the Mahābhārata and some Purāṇas that Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana Muni divided the Veda into four parts[1] we may infer that the Vedic mantras existed once as an undivided corpus. The fact that particular mantras are found in more Vedas than one, hints that the mantras were collected under different names chiefly with a view to their ritual use. For example, the collection of mantras made for the use of the H o t ṛ was called Ṛk and that for the use of the A d h v a r y u was called the Yajus while the U d g ā t ṛ' s collection was called the Sāman. Now the principle according to which the particular mantras could be put under different labels was the same as that which has been traditionally at the root of the division of the Vedas into śākhās. • For, from Mahādeva's commentary on the Hiraṇyakeśī

[1] For details see Śaśībhūṣaṇa Vidyālaṅkāra, জীবনীকোষ (*Jīvanī-koṣa*), Calcutta, 1341 B.E., pp. 1090 f. (article on 'Vedavyāsa').

Sūtra we learn that one of the reasons which gave rise to śākhās was the manner of reading the Vedas.[1] This being the case we can well say that from one original Veda came out first of all śākhās like Ṛk, Sāman, Yajus, etc.[2] For, the uttering of Vedic mantras by different classes of priests was different; the Hotṛ recited the Ṛcas with his normal voice, the Adhvaryu muttered the Yajūṃṣi silently, while the Udgātṛ chanted Sāmans loudly.[3]

19. But the threefold śākhā, if we are allowed to postulate this, must have existed at the very beginning of the period which witnessed the growth of Vedic ritualism, or roughly in the period preceding the Brāhmaṇas. From this period onwards the Vedic people, that is, the Aryans together with the pre-Aryan ethnic element which they might have absorbed, began to scatter themselves in widely separated regions of the Indian continent where Aryanization followed. This diffusion of the Vedic people, their culture and religion gave rise, in course of time, to difference in pronunciation of the mantras, and mantras being orally transmitted some of them came, in course of time, to be read in different places with more or less different word order, and a difference in the order of stanzas constituting them also arose. It is probably these factors that brought forth different śākhās in the generally accepted sense and they were, in fact, śākhās of śākhās or secondary śākhās. Prātiśākhyas relate to all such śākhās in existence at the time of their composition or final redaction. But separation among the different branches of the Vedic people resulted not only in the

[1] *śākhābhede' dhyayanabhedād vā sūtra bhedād vā.* See Max Müller, Ancient Skt. Literature, London, 1859, p. 127.

[2] Max Müller also writes; "The word (*i.e.*, *śākhā*) is sometimes applied to the three original Saṃhitās, the Ṛgveda-saṃhitā, Sāma-veda-saṃhitā and Yajur-veda-saṁhitā, in relation to one another and without reference to subordinate śākhās belonging to each of them" (*op. cit.*, pp. 123, 124). Yāska's use of singular number with reference to the Veda deserves notice (1. 20). Prof. Sarup however takes this differently. See his transl., p. 221.

[3] Max Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 122, 471 f.; Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtrās (II. 1. 35-37).

difference of pronunciation of the mantras but also a variation of their sacrificial rules and social laws and customs. Thus the śākhās came to relate also to a difference in such matters,[1] though Prātiśākhyas had nothing to do with such śākhās.[2]

20. Now the exact sense of śākhās having been determined we shall proceed to ascertain the sense of the term *Prātiśākhya*. According to Max Müller who wrote in 1859, 'Prátiśâkhya...does not mean, as has been supposed, a treatise on phonetic peculiarities of each Veda, but a collection of phonetic rules peculiar to one of the different branches of the four Vedas, *i.e.*, to one of those different texts in which each of the Vedas had been handed down for ages in different families and different parts of India.'[3] This view has been subscribed to by Whitney in his edition of the Atharva-veda Prātiśākhya (1862).[4] Since then almost all the scholars have followed this view.[5] But such an opinion seems to have been expressed on very inadequate grounds. For, Mādhava, quoted by Jñānendra Sarasvatī in his gloss on the Siddh. Kau. (P. IV. 3. 59), explains Prātiśākhya as *prati-śākhaṃ bhavam*.[6] And Anantabhaṭṭa too in the introduction to his commentary to the Śukla-Yajus Prātiśākhya defines the word similarly and shows, after an elaborate discussion, that Kātyāyana's work relates to all the fifteen śākhās which developed out of the Śukla Yajur-veda.[7] From the testimony of Durga also we learn that the Prātiśākhya related to more schools than one. For in his commentary to the Nirukta (I. 17) he says: *kiṃ pārṣadāni ? svacaraṇa-parṣady eva yaiḥ*

[1] See above, footnote 2. 'Sūtra' in Mahâdeva's comm. means *Kalpasūtras, i.e., Śrauta-, Gṛhya-* and *Dharma-Sūtras.*

[2] The word 'śâkhā' used hereafter in this essay will mean, unless otherwise pualified, a *phonetic* śâkhā only.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 119.

[4] *JAOS.*, Vol. VII, pp. 342, 580 f.

[5] See Siddheshwar Varma, Critical Studies, p. 12; Winternitz, Hist. of Ind. Lit., Vol. I, Calcutta, 1924, p. 284.

[6] Siddhânta-kaumudī, ed. Gadgil, Bombay, 1904, p. 249.

[7] Kātyāyana's Vājasaneyī Prâtiśâkhya, ed. Venkatarama Sharma, Madras University, 1934, pp. 2-5.

pratiśākhaṃ niyatam eva padāvagraha-pragṛhya-krama-saṃhitā-svaralakṣaṇam ucyate tāni imāni pārṣadāni prātiśākhyāni ity arthaḥ.[1] 'Those Pārṣada books by which in a Pariṣad of one's own Caraṇa, the peculiarities of accent, saṃhitā, krama-reading, pragṛhya vowels and separation of words are laid as enjoined for, and restricted to each śākhā are called Prātiśākhyas.' Max Müller who quoted the above passage may be said to have misunderstood it. *Pratiśākhaṃ* which he translated as 'to certain śākhās' should be equivalent to 'to each śākhā.' It should be noticed in this connexion that Max Müller's translation of the passage is not in agreement with his own definition of the term Prātiśākhya quoted above. However the fault lies principally with commentators like the author of the Vaidikābharaṇa whom Max Müller in all likelihood followed. For in the last named work which does not say anything about the exclusive phonetic character of śākhās in a Prātiśākhya, it has been suggested that the Prātiśākhyas relate to a group of śākhās.[1] This suggestion seems to give partial support to Mādhava's and Anantabhaṭṭa's testimony referred to above. For it does not restrict Prātiśākhyas to o n e only of the m a n y śākhās.

The word *Pārṣada* which is a synonym for *Prātiśākhya* seems to give some clue to the solution of the problem whether Prātiśākhyas related to only one or all the śākhās of a Veda. In Nārāyaṇa's commentary to a passage (*ācāryaṃ sapariṣatkaṃ bhojayet sabrahmacāriṇaś-ca* in the Gobhila-Gṛhyasūtra-bhāṣya we find the following *saha pariṣadā śiṣyagaṇena vartata iti sapariṣatkaḥ taṃ. samānaṃ tulyakālaṃ brahmacāritvaṃ yeṣāṃ ta ime anyaśākhino'pi sabrahmacāriṇaḥ savayo'bhi adhīyante.*[2] From this passage we learn that students belonging to different Vedic schools could take their lessons from one Ācārya who together with his pupils constituted a Parṣada or Pariṣad. Thus

[1] Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 131; S. Varma translates Mādhava's words as belonging t each individual (*prati*) śākhā (*op. cit.*, . 12).

[2] On the *T. Pr.*, IV. 11; Siddheshwar Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 13

Pārṣada sūtras evidently related to such Pariṣads comprising different schools of a Veda. Hence it seems justifiable to conclude that Pārṣada-sūtras or Prātiśākhyas related to each one or all the śākhās of a Veda.

21. By taking what seems very much to be a wrong view about the meaning of the word Prātiśākhya or the scope of a work so named, Whitney felt some uneasiness over naming the Prātiśākhya of the Kṛṣṇa-Yajur-veda as the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya.[1] The very fact that this Prātiśākhya mentioned the Black Yajus schools like Mīmāṃsaka and Āhvaraka as well as Taittirīya, made it very inconvenient for him to attach the Prātiśākhya to the last named school (Taittirīya) only. But still he considered it prudent to adopt the name Taitt. Pr. for the work, though it did not quite satisfy his great critical acumen. For he confesses that 'we are far from fully comprehending as yet the origin, nature and relation of the "schools" of Vedic study and their accepted texts or *çākhās*...'[2] This, however, was not the attitude of Whitney a few years earlier when he edited the Atharva-veda Pr. and had recourse to conjectures of varying degrees to explain away the discordance between the theory current in his time about the nature and scope of Prātiśākhyas and the characteristics of the Pr. in hand. He attached this Pr. to the Śaunaka school of the Atharva-veda and troubled himself about the problem why in certain points it was not in complete agreement to the Veda of this school. He little dreamt the Pr. in question related also to other Atharva Śākhās which in all likelihood perished or were till then untraced.[3] Hence in his edition of the Atharva-veda Pr. Whitney writes 'It is......peculiarity of the authors of our treatise to give their rules a wider scope than the vocabulary of the Atharva

1 See p. 427 of Whitney's ed. of this Prātiśākhya was published in 1871.

2 Whitney, T. Pr. p. 427.

3 The Paippalāda śākhā of the Atharva-veda discovered after Whitney's ed. of the Atharva Pr. should be remembered in this connexion.

requires, in many instances contemplating and providing for combination of sounds which are found nowhere in the body of Vedic scriptures, and for which accordingly the commentator is obliged to fabricate illustrations (p. 583).' Now whatever may be said about the genuineness of examples given by the commentator who was possibly very late, it cannot be said that the author of the Prātiśākhyas based his rules on non-existing materials. In view of the tradition that Vedas, in different periods, came to be lost and had to be recovered, it will not be difficult to assume that some of the śākhās with their texts perished beyond recovery.[1] Even if his allegation against the commentator in some rare cases may not be untrue, Whitney himself has admitted that 'there are certain number of sentences among those given by the commentator which have more or less clearly the aspect of genuine citations from Vedic texts; and although some might be regarded as instances of carelessness on his part quoting by memory from another source than his own Veda, we cannot possibly extend this explanation to them all; it must remain probable that, in part at least, they were contained in some hitherto unknown *çākhā* of the Atharva-veda.'[2] From these passages one will easily realise the untenable nature of the meaning given to Prātiśākhya by Whitney, his predecessors and followers.[3]

22. Max Müller, in his introduction to the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya (1870) does not care to examine in details the deviations of the Prātiśākhya from the available Ṛgveda text (of Śākala recension). This may be said to be due particularly to his strong belief that Prātiśākhyas were concerned with one śākhā of a Veda. Hence, he very summarily disposes of the question of relationship between the Prātiśākhya and the Ṛgveda (Śākala) text by saying that, as "in all essential points our own best

[1] Hopkins, 'The Great Epic of India,' p 5.

[2] JAOS., VII, p. 583.

[3] *E.g.*, Prof. Keith believes with Whitney that the T.Pr. relates to the Taittirīya Mantra-pāṭha alone. See The Veda of the Black Yajus School, HOS, p. xxxviii.

manuscripts of the text agree with the data in the Prātiśākhya, we may prudently conclude that the text of the Ṛgveda we possess is the same as seen by the authors of the Prātiśākhya more than 2000 years ago."[1] Along with this should be remembered what he himself wrote in this connexion eleven years earlier. In the History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (1859) Max Müller wrote: "There is not a single MS. at present existing of the Ṛgveda in which rules of our Prātiśākhya are uniformly observed, and the same applies to the MSS. of the other Vedas."[2]

22 (*a*). Burnell, too, in his introduction to the Ṛk-tantra-vyākaraṇa (Mangalore, 1879), considered by him to be a Prātiśākhya of the Sāma-veda, thought that Prātiśākhyas belonged to one of the many śākhās of a Veda. He attached the Ṛk-tantra to the Kauthumī śākhā alone and made some conjectures as to why this Prātiśākhya could not be connected with Jaiminīya, Talavakāra or Rāṇāyanīya śākhās, and he assumed that Prātiśākhyas connected with these śākhās had been lost. But all these assumptions seem to be uncalled for. For example, characteristics of some Sāma śākhās such as the cerebral *l* and short *e* and *o* were in all probability phonetic developments occurring or recognized later.[3] There can be nothing against such an assumption. For there is the traditional view that the difference of śākhās arising from difference in uttering mantras is without any (historical) beginning;[4] and from this we may deduce that even after the Prātiśākhyas were written new differences in pronuncia-

1 IHQ., Vol. III, 1927, pp. 611-612: Introduction to Ṛk-Pr., translated into English by B. K, Ghosh.

2 Pp. 136, 137.

3 Patañjali's opinion regarding the shortening of *e* and *o* in the Sātyamugrīya and Rāṇāyanīya śākhās of the Sāma-veda deserves special notice in this connexion. For he is unwilling to recognize such a deviation from the tradition though the Pariṣad gave it sanction. He says, *pārṣadakṛtir eṣā tatrabhavatāṃ naiva loke nānyasmin vede'rdha ekāro'rdha okāro vāsti* on the Śivasūtra (*ai-au-c*).

4 *adhyayana-bhedāt śākhābhedo'nādi* quoted by Max Müller., *op. cit.*, p. 127. See also pp. 117-118; *pravacanabhedāt prativedaṃ bhinnā bhūyasyaś ca śākhā*, says Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in the Prasthāna-bheda.

tion could arise between several groups of Vedic people and did actually arise and thus the process which brought into existence different śākhās was practically without an end.[1] It will be found on a closer study of the various Prātiśākhyas and Śikṣās that the difference of pronunciation among Vedic śākhās owe their origin to the forces which tended to develop the Old Indo-Aryan to the Middle Indo-Aryan and the later to the New Indo-Aryan dialects.[2] But Whitney, Max Müller and Burnell however viewed the matter differently and so did Weber before them.[3]

23. The Prātiśākhyas belonging as they do to the second age of the study of the Śikṣā Vedāṅga had a much wider scope than the manual of the subject that was produced in the first age.[4] From a study of the contents of the Prātiśākhyas we find that the scope of the Śikṣā as given in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad (I. 2) applies to a considerable extent to the Prātiśākhyas which

[1] Mr. Suryakanta Sastri in his Introduction to his new ed. of the Ṛk-tantra follows Burnell in assigning the work to the Kauthumī śākhā (pp. 2-6). But Mr. Sastri has also given some fresh arguments in support of Burnell's theory. These, however, are by no means unassailable. That the Jaiminīya text of the Sāma-veda did not give the peculiarities provided for in the Sūtrās 58, 94, 112 and 114 can be explained also by the assumption that the phonetic changes in question might have arisen later or the Prātiśākhyas being manuals of pronunciation had not much influence with the scribes, and discrepancy between the written text and its pronunciation can well be assumed to have existed in early times also. From the emphatic manner in which the use of written texts of the Vedas has been discouraged we can well infer this. For the Nāradīya-Śikṣā says :

Pustakapratyayādhītan nādhītaṃ gurusannidhau
rājate na sabhāmadhye jāragarbho iva striyaḥ (II. 8. 19),

and the Yājñavalkya-Śikṣā has the following :

gītī śīghrī śirah-kampi tathā likhita-pāṭhakaḥ
anarthajño'lpakaṇṭhaś ca ṣaḍ ete pāṭhakādhamāḥ. (198).

The long quotation which Mr. Sastri has given in support of his connecting the Ṛk-tantra with the Kauthuma śākhā alone of the Sāma-veda, is not at all convincing. According to this question the Kauthumī śākhā seems to include Nārada, Lomaśa, Gautama and Naigeya schools. He ought to have explained this fact.

[2] Bloomfield and Edgerton, Vedic Variants, Vol. 2, *Phonetics*, Ch. I, especially §§ 20-43. See also Max Müller, Ancient Skt. Lit., p. 117.

[3] Weber, Indische Studien, IV, pp. 67 ff. See also Winternitz, A Hist. of Ind. Lit., Vol. I, p. 284. According to the Taitt. Up. Śikṣā treats of the follwing : *varṇa* (speech-sounds) *svara* (pitch-accent), *mātrā* (quantity), *bala* (stress), *sāma* (utterance in a medium tone), and *saṃhitā* (euphonic combination).

Contra this, see Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 285.

should be called secondary Śikṣās.[1] When judged by the standard set up by the Taitt. Up. for Śikṣā (phonetics), the Prātiśākhyas may be found wanting in certain respects.[2] For example, the treatment of *sāma* and *bala* is non-existent in them. But it can well be assumed that as these two topics were exclusively matters of oral instruction the Prātiśākhyas did not discuss them.

24. As for the date of the Prātiśākhyas which as we have seen can be called the secondary Śikṣās, their rise and development, at least of the older ones among them, can be roughly placed between 600-200 B.C.[3] A detailed discussion about the date of the Prātiśākhyas will carry us far beyond the scope of the present work. But in support of the lower limit to the date of the early Prātiśākhyas it may be mentioned that the passages from the Taittirīya Pr. and Atharva Pr. occur in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (*c.* 200 B.C.). Patañjali's loan to the Pr. has already been pointed out by Dr. Siddheshwar Varma but the acquaintance of the Bhāṣyakāra with the A. Pr. has not been pointed out before. Under the Vārttika to Pāṇini I. 1. 10. Patañjali[4] quotes *spṛṣṭaṃ sparśānāṃ karaṇam. īṣatspṛṣṭam antaḥsthānām. vivṛtam ūṣmaṇām īṣad ity anuvartate. svarāṇāṃ ca* [MSS. A B *vivṛtaṃ īṣad iti nivṛttam*]. Here we have sūtras 29-32 of the APr. with the difference that the word order of the sūtra *ūṣmaṇāṃ vivṛtaṃ ca* has been changed and *ca* has been omitted. The accompanying *vṛtti* in Patañjali's quotation shows that he has quoted from some sūtra work which was evidently the APr.[5]

1 *Cf.* Suryakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 8.

2 For the scope of the Śikṣā as laid down in the Taitt. Up., see § 16.

3 S. Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 412. See also Hannes Sköld, 'The Nirukta : Its place in Old Indian Literature, its Etymologies.' Lund, 1926, p. 121. Before Dr. Varma he surmised that the Pr. was to be placed before Patañjali though he very rightly held that the age of the Prātiśākhyas has rather been overrated. *Cf.* Winternitz, Vol. I, p. 268.

4 Ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 64.

5 Recent attempts to show that the Śaunakīyā Cāturādhyāyikā is not the A. Pr. must be pronounced as a failure (*vide* The Atharva-Prātiśākhya, ed. Viswa Bandhu Vidyarthi Shastri, Lahore, 1923, pp. 13-14. S. Sastri, *op. cit.*, introduction, p. 6). For, Uvaṭa in his introduction to the Ṛk Pr. writes, "*tathā cātharvaṇa-prātiśākhye idam eva prayojanam uktam evam iheti ca vibhāṣāprāptaṃ sāmānye.*" A. Pr. I. 2.

PĀṆINĪYA ŚIKṢĀ

25. *Its contents*. The PŚ. as we have reconstructed it from different recensions, contains only eighteen couplets in anuṣṭubh metre though the longest (Ṛk) recension includes no less than forty-two additional couplets [1] most of which are in the same metre. The extreme shortness of this Śikṣā-Vedāṅga can well be compared with that of the Chando-Vedāṅga which is embedded in the Chandaḥ-sūtras of Piṅgala and contains only 87 sūtras which will scarcely be much bigger in extent than the PŚ.[2] But in spite of its extreme brevity the PŚ. was more or less a complete manual on the pronunciation of the Vedic speech-sounds in general at the time the work was composed.

In the first two couplets the PŚ. enumerates the speech-sounds (*varṇas*); vowels and consonants have been separately mentioned. The next four couplets (3-6) give a theory of production of the speech-sounds. This is followed by a five-fold classification of these sounds according to their pitch, quantity, place of articulation, primary effort (*prayatna*) and the secondary effort (*anupradāna*) (7-16). It goes without saying that pitch and quantity primarily concerned vowels while the remaining items all the sounds. The sounds mentioned in the PŚ. are shown below in phonetic script according to their classes.

1 Some of the additional passages, *e.g.* Ṛk 46, 47 are not in verse. We however, have called them couplets only as a matter of convenience.

2 See Manomohan Ghosh, 'The Chando-Vedāṅga of Piṅgala' in IHQ, Vol. VII, 1931, pp. 727 ff. ; Weber, Ind. Stud., VIII, pp. 229-287.

Table B

Pāṇini's Classification of Speech-Sounds of the O I A.

1. According to Places of Articulation.

		uras	kaṇṭha	jihvāmūla	tālu	mūrdhan	danta	danta-oṣṭha	oṣṭha
sparśa	*alpaprāṇa*[1]			k g	c ɟ	ṭ ḍ	t d		p b
	mahāprāṇa			kh gɦ	ch ɟɦ	ṭh ḍɦ	th dɦ		ph bɦ
	anunāsika			ŋ	ɲ	ɳ	n		m
	ūṣman	h	(h) ɦ	x	ç	ʃ̣	s		ꜰ
antaḥstha	(*lateral*)						l		
	(*flapped*)					r			
	(*semivowel*)				j			w	
svara	*samānākṣara* (*monophthong*)		a a:		i i:				u u:
	sandhyakṣara (*diphthong*)		kaṇṭha-tālu: e : (= ăĭ = æĕ ?) ai				kaṇṭha-oṣṭha: o : (= ăŭ = ɔŏ ?) au		

2. According to Prayatana.

a-spṛṣṭa	a a: , i i: , u u: , e: (= ? æĕ) ai o: (= ? ɔŏ) au
īṣat-spṛṣṭa	j w r l (h x ꜰ)
nema-spṛṣṭa	ç ʃ̣ s
spṛṣṭa	*all stops and* h

[1] Terms in Italics have not been used in the PS.

3. According to Anupradāna.

nādin — anunāsika		ŋ	ɲ	ṇ	n	m
nādin — an-anunāsika	ɦ	gɦ	ɟɦ	ḍɦ	dɦ	bɦ
Iṣan-nāda		g	ɟ	ḍ	d	b
śvāsin		kh	ch	ṭh	th	ph
Iṣac-chvāsin		k	c	ṭ	t	p

26. *Its Language.* Within the short extent of eighteen couplets we have one clear instance of Vedic usage (see Note 9, see also Note 18). There is another expression which also according to the Kāśikā follows the Vedic usage (see Note 9 on *so'dīrṇaḥ*). Thus we may be justified to conclude that the PŚ. was written in a late form of the Vedic speech. The text of the Ṛk recension of the PŚ. as printed in the Śikṣā-Saṃgraha (Benares, 1893) has been furnished with accent marks. But as eighteen only of the couplets have been considered to be original we have no sufficient ground to take these accent-marks to be very old. But on looking to the archaic language of the PŚ. we are tempted to assume that the editor of the text of the Ṛk recension, which served as the basis of the ŚS. text, must have had behind him a good traditional support. It is quite likely that these accent-marks in the PŚ. fell into disuse just as the accent-marks in the Aṣṭādhyāyī and Pāṇinīya Dhātu-pāṭha did.[1] Pāṇini's sūtras such as *svaritenádhikāraḥ, anudātta-ṅita ātmane-padam* (I. 3. 11, 12) clearly indicate that these two works were once accented. This possible existence of accent-marks in the PŚ. again speaks for its great antiquity.

27. That the PŚ. has been composed in the anuṣṭubh metre has been considered by Max Müller to be the sign of its lateness. On this point, after emphasising the antiquity of the Ṛk Prātiśākhya he says, ' By comparing Śaunaka's chapters

[1] See Wackernagel, I, p. 283.

in his first Prātiśākhya with the small śloka compilation which is generally quoted as the Vedāṅga, the difference of old and modern ślokas will at once be perceived.'[1] As he has not expressly laid down the criterion with which to distinguish between the old and the new ślokas we cannot judge the strength of his argument; but ślokas which he considered to be modern in structure might well have been among those which we have had to consider spurious. Whatever may be the fact, the anuṣṭubh metre in which the reconstructed PŚ. has been composed appears by no means younger in age than that in which works like the Bṛhaddevatā (*c.* 400 B. C.) has been composed.

Four important characteristics of the classical Skt. ślokas are: (*i*) of every pāda the 5th syllable shall be short and (*ii*) the 6th syllable long and (*iii*) the 7th syllable of the first and the third pāda shall be long and (*iv*) that of the second and the fourth pāda shall be short. Now in the PŚ. (as reconstructed by us) the 5th syllable of the pāda is long *thrice* (6a, 15a, c)[2] and the 6th syllable short *seven* times (4a, 5a, c, 6a, 8c, 11a, c) and the 7th syllable of the first and the third pāda is short *seven* times (4a, 5a,c, 6a, 11a,c) and the 7th syllable of the 2nd pāda is long *once* (2b). Considering the fact that the PŚ. consists of 18 ślokas only these 18 instances of metrical irregularity is enough to show their archaic nature.

28. *Its place in the Indian Literature.* In his commentary to Jaimini's Pūrva-mīmāṃsā sūtras Śabara (*c.* 500 A.C.)[3] once (on I. 1.22) mentions the 'authors of the Śikṣā' (*śikṣākārāḥ*).[4] Plural being evidently used for showing respect we do not learn from this what particular author of Śikṣā Śabara had in mind.

1 *op. cit.*, p. 145.

2 a, b, c *and* d indicate in this paragraph the first, second, third and the fourth quarter of a śloka.

3 R. G. Bhandarkar, JBRAS, 1914, p. 297 f.; Winternitz, III, p. 425.

4 *nanu vāyu-kāraṇakaḥ syād iti vāyur udgataḥ saṃyoga-vibhāgaiḥ śabdo bhavatīti tathā ca ś i k ṣ ā - k ā r ā ḥ āhuḥ vāyur āpadyate śabdatām iti.* Śabara here does not quote the words of the PŚ but gives its view.

But he discusses later on (under I. 3. 25) a theory of the production of words, which is identical with that available in the PŚ. (3-6).[1] Bhartṛhari (*c.* 650 A.C.) too in his Vākyapadīya (I.47)[2] seems to follow the same theory, though he does not mention any Śikṣā or Śikṣākāra. But from Śabara's or Bhartṛhari's probable acquaintance with the PŚ. we do not learn anything about the authorship of this work. It may be that like the compiler of the Agni Purāṇa they were not aware of the name of its author though it was surely looked upon by them as the most authentic Śikṣā or the Vedāṅga Śikṣā. The same may be said of Durga (*c.*1300 A.C.)[3] the commentator of the Nirukta, and Sāyaṇa (1400 A.C.), as well as Someśvara[4] and Rāmakṛṣṇa[5] about the date of whom we have no definite idea. But Madhusūdana Sarasvatī[6] (*c.* 1500 A.C.) as well as the author of the Pārāśarī Śikṣā[7] knew the PŚ. as the Vedāṅga and knew Pāṇini as its author. From the description of the Śikṣā given in the Śukranīti[8] it appears that the author of this work too knew of the PŚ. to be a Vedāṅga. Thus we see that though there might have occurred some break in the tradition about Pāṇini's authorship of the PŚ. it was taken as the most important Śikṣā or the Vedāṅga by eminent authorities probably from 500 A.C. to 1500 A.C. The question why the authorship of the PŚ. came later to be obscured is difficult to answer.

1 *mahatā prayatnena śabdam uccaranti vāyur nābher utthitaḥ urasi vistīrṇaḥ kaṇṭhe vivartitaḥ mūrdhānam āhatya vaktre vicaran vividhān śabdān abhivyañjayati.* PŚ. 3-4.

2 *vitarkitaḥ purā buddhyā kvacidarthe niveśitaḥ*
karaṇebhyo vivṛttena dhvaninā so'nugṛhyate.
v.l. *kāraṇebhyo vivṛttena* is evidently due to confusion.

3 Durga in his introduction to the Comm. of the Nirukta quotes PŚ. 3, from what he calls the Vedāṅga Śikṣā (see Nirukta in Bomb. Skt. Series, p. 24). The date of the author is about 1300 A.C. (Introduction to the Nirukta, by Sarup, p 59).

4 Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

5 Ed. Simon, p. 42; Siddheshwar Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

6 *tatra sarva-vedasādhāraṇaśikṣā......atha śikṣāṃ pravakṣyāmīti pañcakhaṇḍātmikā Pāṇininā prakāśitā.* Prasthāna-bheda, ed. Weber, p. 16.

7 ŚS. p 60.

8 *svarataḥ kālataḥ sthāna-prayatnānupradānataḥ.*
savanādyaiś ca sā śikṣā varṇānāṃ pāṭha-śikṣaṇāt.

29. In the absence of suitable data on the point we may explain this obscurity by the fact that the ancient Indians did not set any value on history as such, their only care being the Śāstra and not its authors or their dates. They however took notice of the most important fact about the PŚ. that it was a Vedāṅga and concerned all the Vedas.[1]

But the great importance attached to the PŚ. by these authorities is apparently weakened on the following grounds: The places of articulation for the sounds ṛ, e, o, r and l as given in the PŚ. do not correspond to those given in the Prātiśākhyas and some of the late Śikṣās; and sounds like ḷ (ळ) and ḷh (ळ्ह) found in some Vedic texts do not occur at all in the PŚ. though they make casual appearance in the Prātiśākhyas.

30. But looking more closely into these cases we shall find that there cannot be any real difficulty on these points. For we have seen before (§ 22a) that one aspect of different treatises on the Vedic phonetics is that they in a way help to trace the development of the spoken Indo-Aryan since the inception of its tendencies towards reaching to the Middle Indo-Aryan stage, and it is pretty sure that these tendencies interfered with the correct pronunciation of the Vedic mantras. Thus ḷ (ळ) and ḷh (ळ्ह) can easily be explained as later developments.[2] Mr. C. V. Vaidya thinks that these sounds were non-existent in the Vedas and developed later due to Dravidian influence.[3] This opinion seems to be extremely sound. The change of place in case of the articulation of ṛ, e, o, r and l also can be explained in a similar fashion as later developments. Thus we should have no objection in admitting the Vedāṅga character of the PŚ.

1 See notes above.

2 *Cf.* S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Thumb-Hirt, Handbuch des Skt., Teil. I. § 21. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, Vol. I, pp. 255-256.

3 Hist. of Skt. Lit., Vol. I, Sec. I, p. 57; Sec. II, pp. 81, 114, 130, 137, 142, 154. South Indian Skt. MSS. very often interchange ḷ and l without any principle. This probably points to the Dravidian origin of ḷ (*vide* Wackernagel, *loc. cit.*).

There seems to be another fact which goes in favour of the view presented above. As we have seen before (§ 25) that the PS. has a theory of production of the speech-sounds (3-6). The (Taitt. Pr.[1]) surely betrays an acquaintance with it. The acquaintance of the Vāj. Pr. is probably clearer.[2] The Ṛk. Pr. (I, 18)[3] too seems to have known this. It is not clear if the APr. knew of it. But the silence of the last work may well be explained by assuming that its author did not probably consider it necessary to include the theory in his sūtras, for he might well have assumed a knowledge of it on the part of the readers.

31. Thus we can well take the PS. as the Śikṣā-Vedāṅga. This view will be further strengthened when we shall discuss below the relation of the PS. with the Aṣṭādhyāyī and will produce evidence to show that the two works in all likelihood proceeded from the same master's hand. But before taking up the relation between the PS. and the Aṣṭādhyāyī we shall have to examine the claim of another work for the position of the Vedāṅga. Dr. Raghu Vira in an article named 'Discovery of the lost Phonetic Sūtras of Pāṇini' published in the J R A S, 1931, (pp. 653 ff.) claims to have discovered the lost Phonetic Sūtras of Pāṇini. From the several arguments which he puts forth with great enthusiasm it may appear that the sūtra work of his discovery (DPS. or Dayānanda's Phonetic Sūtras) is the Vedāṅga Śikṣā. But on a closer examination of the arguments we find that they are not as sound as Dr. Raghu Vira believes them to be. He starts with the assumption that the DPS. is the lost phonetic sūtras of Pāṇini though no independent authority

1 उरसि मन्द्रम्। कण्ठे मध्यमम्। शिरसि तारम् (XXIII, 10-12. Whitney, XXIII. 10), See foot-note of § 28.

2 अथ शिक्षाविहिताः। सवनक्रमेणोरःकण्ठभ्रूमध्यानि (I, 29-30). By Śikṣā Kātyāyana seems to mean the PS.

3 कण्ठ्योऽकारः प्रथमपञ्चमौ च द्वावूष्माणौ केचिदेता उरस्यौ (I, 18.).

The view of 'some' who took '*h*' as an *urasya* sound can be compared with the PS. 10. which has '*h*' as *aurasa* under certain circumstances.

attests its existence or the story of its alleged loss before the present time. Dr. Raghu Vira's allegation that Patañjali and other grammarians borrowed passages or their substance from this sūtra work (DPS.) is extremely unhappy. For this borrowing might well have occurred the other way round, that is, the author of the DPS. might have culled his materials from sundry sources such as the Mahābhāṣya and the Varṇa-sūtras of Candragomin.[1] In the face of facts that there is no ancient or modern MS. or any descriptive reference of it in any early or late work to vouch for its authenticity,[2] one may well be justified to take such a view. Along with this should be considered the following facts about the PS. :

(*i*) It has been styled as the Vedāṅga Śikṣā by Sāyaṇa and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.

(*ii*) It has no less than what may be called *five* different recensions, and numerous MSS. of each such recension.

(*iii*) It has two old commentaries. Thus we see that in marked contrast to the PS. the DPS., the alleged phonetic Sūtras of Pāṇini, have remained in oblivion for about two millennia and a half to be discovered only at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Though such a discovery may not be totally impossible, one need be very cautious in such matters. The discovery of Kauṭilya's and Bhāsa's works cannot be brought here as a parallel case, for quotation from these works have been shown to have occurred in fairly old documents.

32. From materials which Dr. Raghu Vira has so ably collected in his article[3] we can well see that the DPS. is not an old work. On referring to a recent catalogue (p.12) of the Vaidika Pustakālaya, Ajmer (Saṃvat 1988), publisher to the Ārya Samāja, we find that the DPS. constitutes the first among

[1] The Varṇa-sūtras have been given in the Appendix. Dr. Paul Thieme seems to disbelieve that the Pāṇini's Śikṣā of Dr. Raghu Vira was quoted by Patañjali (see *op. cit.*, p. 86)

[2] Non-existence of any MS. of the DPS. has also raised a doubt in the mind of Dr. Paul Thieme as regards the authorship of the work (*ibid.*).

[3] J R A S, 1931, pp. 653 ff.

the fourteen sections of the *Vedāṅga Prakāśa*, a grammar which Svāmī Dayānanda compiled for the use of the Vedic students. It is probably due to inadvertence that Dr. Raghu Vira did not mention this fact in his article. The different sections of the Vedāṅga Prakāśa including the first one have also been issued separately. The first of these sections bears the title of the Varṇoccāraṇa-Śikṣā by Pāṇini. This sūtra-work as has been shown by Dr. Raghu Vira (*loc. cit.*) resembles the Varṇa-sūtras of Candragomin, the Buddhist grammarian, who flourished about 500 A.C.[1] Considering the great influence which Candragomin exercised on the grammarians of Pāṇini's school (the Kāśikā and the Vākyapadīya showing traces of such influence) it is quite possible that some late grammarian re-edited and amplified the Varṇa-sūtras of Candragomin and fathered this upon Pāṇini, evidently for imparting to it a superior authority. Though there is no sufficient material to prove this we are inclined to suggest that this late grammarian was Svāmī Dayānanda himself who, among other things was a very close student of Sanskrit grammars as his Vedāṅgaprakāśa and the edition of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī show. But whatever may be the actual fact about the authorship of the DPS., it is sure that the work is neither from the hands of Pāṇini nor an old one.[2]

33. *Its Author.* Now if we are sure about the fact that the PŚ. is the real Vedāṅga Śikṣā we shall have to take up the problem of its authorship. Though the work has probably been drawn upon by very old authors[3] its author has not been

[1] This date is assigned by S. R. Belvalkar (Systems of Skt. Grammars, p. 58). Dr. Siddheshwar Varma places C. in the 7th century (See his Critical Studies, p. 8) at the latest.

[2] Dr. Paul Thieme with a somewhat different line of argument disallows the genuineness of Pāṇini's Phonetic Sūtras discovered by Dr. Raghu Vira (see his Pāṇini and the Veda, p 86). We do not agree with him on all points.

[3] Dr. Paul Thieme thinks that if Patañjali knew the PŚ. as Pāṇini's work, he would have referred to it 'in unambiguous terms' and would have treated it with the same respect as Pāṇini's grammar (p. 86). Hence, as the PŚ. has not been referred to by Patañjali, one may according to Dr. Thieme reject its relation with Pāṇini. But it would be a mistake to place too much confidence on the argument of silence, which may be otherwise explained.

mentioned till very late (see § 28). The earliest evidence about the existence of the complete work is perhaps the Agni Purāṇa which isu sually placed in the 800 A.C. But it does not refer to Pāṇini as the author of the Śikṣā though in case of the metrical version of Piṅgala's prosody the source has been mentioned (see Notes on 1). This can well be taken to mean that to the compiler of the Agni Purāṇa the authorship of the PŚ. was not known. But we have seen before (§ 29) that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in the 15th century in no unambiguous terms considers Pāṇini to be the author of this Śikṣā though the Śikṣā-Prakāśa, a commentary to the PŚ. which is possibly earlier (*c.* 1200 A.C.), than Madhusūdana, ascribes the latter work to Piṅgala. Thus the problem of the authorship of the PŚ. with its late and mutually conflicting data seems to possess no dependable means for its solution. But we need not feel hopeless in the matter. External evidence failing we turn to the PŚ. itself and find some important hints which are being discussed below.

(*a*) It is usually known that Pāṇini was a great grammarian but his greatness as a phonetician is no less considerable. But unfortunately it has scarcely been noticed and far less emphasised. This sort of defective appreciation of Pāṇini is due to the mistaken notion commonly held that the Prātiśākhyas, even if they are not actual grammars, are grammatical writings.[1] But in fact the Prātiśākhyas are purely phonetical treatises. Viewed in this light we find that Pāṇini has treated in his grammar *svara* (pitch) and *mātrā* (quantity) of vowels as well as *saṃhitā* (euphonic combination).[2] These items as we have seen before (§ 16) are, according to the Taitt. Upaniṣad, the three

[1] Winternitz, Vol. III, pp. 381-382; Lakshman Sarup, the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta, English Translation and Notes, London, 1921, p. 220; S. Varma, Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observation of Indian Grammarians, pp. 14-15; S. Sastri, 'The Ṛktantra,' Introduction, pp. 1-2.

[2] The Aṣṭādhyāyī treats of *svara* in chapters VI (1. 58-2, 199) and VIII (1. 27-71) and in many other places. The *mātrā* has been treated in chapter VI (3. 111, 138) and the *saṃhitā* in Chapters VI (1. 72 f and 3. 114f) and VIII (3. 1-4; 43-48).

among the six branches of the Śikṣā or phonetics. Can there be a better evidence of Pāṇini's masterly knowledge of phonetics? But this evidence alone is not sufficient to identify Pāṇini with the author of the PŚ. What we may gather from the above is that of the two names Pāṇini and Piṅgala proposed for the authorship of the PŚ. the case for the former is stronger.

(*b*) Besides this a comparison of the contents of the Aṣṭādhyāyī and the PŚ. further strengthens the claim of Pāṇini to the authorship of the PŚ. From such comparison we gather the following facts[1] pointing to the handiwork of the same author.

(*i*) In the PŚ. Pāṇinian Pratyāhāras, such as *ac, car, ghaś, yaṇ, jaś, śar, hal,* have been requisitioned.

(*ii*) *ku, cu, ṭu, tu* and *pu* have been used to indicate respectively *k, c, ṭ, t* and *p* groups. This convention has been formulated in the Aṣṭādhyāyī (I. 1. 69) *aṇudit savarṇasya cā 'pratyayaḥ.*

(*iii*) The PŚ. (17) includes the Anunāsika into speech-sounds while its definition has been given in the Aṣṭādhyāyī (I. 1. 9.) *mukha-nāsikā-vacano' nunāsikaḥ.*

(*iv*) The explanation of terms like *hrasva, dīrgha* and *pluta* has also been given there (I. 2. 27, *ukālo'j hrasva-dīrgha-plutaḥ*).

(*v*) According to a rule of *ṇa-tva* as laid down in the Aṣṭādhyāyī (VIII. 4.1). *n* after *ṛ* and *ṣ* turns to *ṇ*. From this we get *ṛ* as a cerebral sound. According to the PŚ. (11) too *ṛ* as well as *ṣ* is a cerebral sound (Prātiśākhyas have *ṛ* either in the roots of the teeth or close to the teeth (see Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 6).

All these fairly settle the question of the authorship of the PŚ. Now the important question arises which of the two, the Aṣṭādhyāyī and the PŚ., was composed first. To find this out we must remember once more the different branches of the Śikṣā as enumerated in the Taitt. Upaniṣad, *varṇa, svara, mātrā, bala, sāma* and *santāna.* Pāṇini as we have

[1] Pāṇini's Śikṣā brought to light by Dr. Raghu Vira lacks similar facts, hence Dr. Paul Thieme rightly rejects the genuineness of the work (see *op. cit.*, p. 86).

seen before (§33 a) treated *svara*, *mātrā* and *santāna* (*saṃhitā*) in his grammar. Of the remaining three branches *bala* and *sāma* can scarcely be the fit subject of a theoretical treatise. Hence *varṇa* (speech-sounds) alone was left without treatment in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Now Pāṇini, who undertook to build up his great Śabdānuśāsana, the Vyākaraṇa-Vedāṅga,[1] could not very naturally think of leaving *varṇa* without any treatment. This is probably the reason why he wrote the PŚ. which is as it were a companion to his famous grammar.

34. It may now be asked why Pāṇini wrote the PŚ. in metre and not in prose sūtras. We may think that such a question is not difficult to answer. Considering the simplicity and shortness of the subject to be treated Pāṇini, it may be assumed, adopted in case of the Śikṣā the metrical style which for the Aṣṭādhyāyī with its complex subject-matter would have been quite unfit.

35. Now this being practically certain that the PŚ. as reconstructed here, is from the hands of Pāṇini we get some rough idea about the age of the work. But as the PŚ. seems to offer some fresh data for this purpose we shall discuss below various points of view on Pāṇini's age and try to suggest some time in which the great Indian grammarian was likely to have flourished. Pāṇini has variously been placed between 800 B.C.-400 B.C.[2] The view of those who hold that Pāṇini should be placed in about 350 B.C. should be considered first.[3] Their main argument against an earlier date is the fact that Pāṇini

[1] Winternitz does not admit (Hist. of Ind. Lit., Vol. III, p. 383) that the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini is a Vedāṅga, but this is against the traditional Indian view. Madhusūdana in his Prasthānabheda writes तदेतत् त्रिमुनिव्याकरणं वेदाङ्गं माहेश्वरमित्याख्यायते (ed. Weber, pp. 16-17). In the introduction to the Siddhānta Kaumudī (ed. Venkateśvar, Bombay, 1914) Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Shivadatta Shastri discusses the claim of all extant Vyākaraṇas for Vedāṅgatva and concludes पाणिनीयव्याकरणस्यैव वेदाङ्गत्वाभ्युपगमस् स्यात् (pp. 6-8).

[2] Winternitz, Vol. III. pp. 383 f; S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit*, p. 50; Macdonell, India's Past, p. 136; Liebich, Pāṇini, p. 8; Keith, HOS, Vol. 18, pp. clxviii f. Goldstücker, Pāṇini, 1861.

Dr. Paul Thieme very rightly characterizes the use of this date as 'due to a common but wholly unproved belief' (*op. cit.*, p. 88).

used the word *yavana* which they think could not have entered India before Alexander's invasion. But this argument has been very ably refuted by Professors S. K. Belvalkar and H. Sköld —Belvalkar, Systems of Skt. grammar, pp. 15 ff.; Sköld, Papers on Pāṇini, pp. 24 ff.). The latter has shown very conclusively "that old Indian *yavana* must have entered this language before 520 B. C., and there is no reason at all to locate P ā ṇ i n i as late as after Alexander the Great on account of the here-quoted sūtra." "Moreover Prof. Liebich has proved that P ā ṇ i n i's rules apply to the language of the Brāhmaṇas, some obsolete (perhaps archaic) forms only separating his language from that of the Brāhmaṇas (Papers on Pāṇini, p. 38)." On the basis of this finding of Prof. Liebich, Prof Sköld thinks that Pāṇini must have belonged to the latter Vedic period of the Indian literature (*loc. cit.*). Prof. Liebich however is not willing to assign Pāṇini to a period before Buddha (Pāṇini, p. 8; Winternitz, Vol. III, p. 383). But he seems to have been over-cautious in the matter. For he himself admits, according to Prof. Sköld, that Pāṇini seems to be less lax than that of the Sūtras (*op. cit.*, p. 41.)[1] Prof. Sköld concludes on the basis of this view of Prof. Liebich that we could be inclined to place Pāṇini in a period shortly preceding the Sūtra literature proper (*loc. cit.*) Now the sūtra works which are considered to be among the oldest have been placed in 500 B.C. (Macdonell, India's Past, p. 136).

36. From the above discussion it appears that Pāṇini was most probably earlier than 500 B.C. And there seems to be other facts too which seem to corroborate this view. For example the Aṣṭādhyāyī which mentions the Brāhmaṇa literature no less than four times (II. 3. 60; IV. 2. 66, 3. 103; V. 1. 62) and distinguishes between the old and the new Brāhmaṇas, does not refer to the Āraṇyaka literature though the word 'āraṇyaka'

[1] Keith on the doubtful Authority of Pāṇini, VI. 1, 157, concludes that the grammarian knew Pāraskara the sūtrakāra. His views about Pāṇini's acquaintance with Kātyāyana the Srautasūtrakāra, and the Kauśika sūtrakāra also seems to be inadmissible. (Translation of the Yajurveda, p. clxix.)

in the sense of 'forest dweller' has once (IV. 1. 129) been mentioned. That Kātyāyana composed a Vārttika to extend the use of the word 'āraṇyaka' to an *adhyāya* (most probably of the Brāhmaṇa) may be taken to mean that in Pāṇini's time the Āraṇyaka appendices to the Brāhmaṇas were not yet written or even if they might have been written they were not styled as the Āraṇyakas. Now accepting the second alternative as being more likely we can place Pāṇini at the close of the Brāhmaṇa period. Along with this we should mark another fact, *viz.*, the non-occurrence of the word 'upaniṣad' in the sense of 'secret instructions'[1] and religio-philosophical texts containing them in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī (Pāṇini, I. 4. 79, indeed has the word 'upaniṣad' in the compound *upaniṣatkṛtvā*)[2] which literally means 'sitting very close to', *i.e.*, in a private manner. Now we may well conclude that the Āraṇyakas which contain Upaniṣads were not old at the time of Pāṇini, for they were not yet known as Āraṇyakas or Upaniṣads. Now the oldest among the Upaniṣads are considered to have been compiled about 500 B.C.[3] Hence we should not place Pāṇini later than 500 B.C. It is likely that Pāṇini lived some time earlier than this.[4] The diphthongal character of *e* and *o* which Pāṇini has recorded in his Śikṣā (13) shows that the language described by him was in the same stage of evolution as the Old Persian of the Cuneiform Inscriptions (600 B.C.) of Persepolis. For this latter language too has diphthongs corresponding to our *e* and *o* (see Meillet, Grammaire du Vieux Perse, pp. 55 ff.). As we have no Old Persian Śikṣā we do not know what the actual phonetic value of diphthongs *ai* (Skt.*e*) and *au* (Skt. *o*) was. It is likely that the graphic system was ahead of the phonetic development. The fact that Pāṇini has

1 Deussen, Philosophy of Upanishads, pp. 10-15. Dasgupta, History of Indian Philosophy, p. 38.

2 *Cf.* Keith. Tr. of Yajurveda, HOS., p. clxvii.

3 Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p 39.

4 Dr. Paul Thieme seems to support such a conclusion in his following remark : "Pāṇini's grammar must have been composed at a time when the language of the North was yet felt to be necessary" (*op. cit.*, p. 81).

given rules in his grammar of the proper accentuation of the *bhāṣā* words (VI. 1. 181, vibhāṣā *bhāṣāyām*; VIII. 2.98, Pūrvaṃ tu *bhaṣāyām*) shows that the current language of his time was much ahead of the classical Sanskrit (which has lost its accents) and was nearer the Vedic phase (though in its very late form) of the Old Indo-Aryan than the latter. In addition to this we should also reckon the fact that Pāṇini's grammar was originally accented like a Mantra or Brāhmaṇa text (*vide ante* § 26) and as such it should be assigned at the latest to the close of the period of the Brāhmaṇas.

Commentaries to the PS.

37. *The Śikṣā Pañjikā.* The MSS. and the printed text from which the present edition has been re-constructed have been described before (§ 26) in connexion with the text of the Pñj. recension of the PS. We are now giving below the main features of the commentary reconstructed. The Pñj. recension of the PS. as we have seen before (§ 26) came into existence between 800 and 1100 A.C. Hence the Pañjikā itself may be tentatively placed somewhere in the 12th century. Thus the work which may be as old as seven centuries is sure to contain some old materials. Some of these, such as a reference to Audavraji, has already been pointed out (§ 2b). These materials will be discussed below. According to the Pañjikā, the Śikṣā is the science by which the pronunciation of speech-sounds is learnt (*Śikṣyate'nayā varṇoccāraṇam iti Śikṣā*, p.8, lines 3-4). This is to be compared with the term *varṇaśikṣā* occurring in the ṚPr. (XIV. 30). It is not possible that the author of this work has referred by this term to Prātiśākhya and this being the case *varṇaśikṣā* relates to the Śikṣā of the early period when it still lacked the later elaboration as observed in the Prātiśākhyas (see §§ 16, 23). Hence the ṚPr. has scarcely any legitimate claim to interpret this word as 'Prātiśākhya', which must have existed considerably earlier than the time when the ṚPr. was compiled. The Pañjikā in the definition of Śikṣā quoted above seems to have preserved this tradition which agreed so well with the fact that the PS. deals merely with the utterance of the speech-sounds of the Old Indo-Aryan as represented in Vedic texts. Besides this it gives us rare informations on the following points :

(*a*) There are two anusvāras (p. 10, line 14; p. 12, lines 9-10). No other authorities seem to have taken notice of this fact.

(*b*) A quotation from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up. (p. 15, lines 22-23) occurring in this commentary varies to some extent from the text of this work as received from Śaṅkarācārya.

(*c*) In the reconstruction of the PŚ. 13 this commentary has given a valuable hint (see p. 18, lines 6-7). From this hint we may assume that the author of the Pañjikā had PŚ. 13 as reconstructed by us. But he however could not rightly explain this passage.

(*d*) It gives us the old name for anusvāra as *anusvāraḥ nāsikyaḥ* (p. 18, lines 12-13). For details about the anusvāra see Note 27.

So much for the importance of the Pañjikā. In spite of its valuable aspects it should not be considered infallible. It has the weakness of average commentaries of Skt. and Pkt. works. Sometimes it gives information and explanation which are not accurate. For example, the Pañjikā considers *prayatna* as twofold in spite of its Śikṣā text (see p. 14, line 13). It is possible that he failed to understand the passage (18) properly. The same appears to be the case in its determination of the quantity of the component parts of *e*, *o* and *ai*, *au* (See p. 18, lines 6-7; and Note 23). The author of the Pañjikā is ignorant about the authorship of the PŚ. which it considers to have been written in conformity with the teaching of Pāṇini. In this he simply believed what was given in the first couplet (*Pāṇinīyam matam yathā*, of the Pñj. version of the Śikṣā). This however weakens the testimony of the author of the Śikṣā-Prakāśa commentary, who considers that Piṅgala, the younger brother of Pāṇini, was the author of the PŚ. (p. 23, line 8).

37. *The Śikṣā-Prakāśa.* This commentary has been received in corrupt[1] *MSS*, at least the two we could directly or indirectly use are such (see § 2 c). It is inferior in worth to the Pañjikā discussed above. But it has importance in the following points:

[1] The corruption is most palpable in the passage at p. 26, lines 22 ff.

(*a*) It ascribes the authorship of the PS. to Piṅgala, the younger brother of Pāṇini (see p. 23, line 7). The authenticity of this information has been discussed before (§23).

(*b*) It defines the Śikṣā as a science for the utterance of (proper) pitch (of vowels) and speech-sounds in general (*Śikṣā svaravarṇoccārakaṃ śāstram*, p. 23, line 15). This is different from the definition given in the Pañjikā (see §37). Apparently slight though this definition is, it is not without importance. In the Pañjikā definition we find speech-sounds only as subject of instruction while in the Prakāśa *svara* (pitch accent) comes in. It may be assumed that the two definitions point to two distinct traditions having their origin in two successive stages in study of Vedic Phonetics. That is, speech-sounds came first of all to be studied and the pitch received attention later or at least was treated in a śāstra later (see also §12).

(*c*) In the reconstruction of the PS. 13 this commentary gives valuable help. Though the MSS. are defective on this point the original reading of the passage before the author of the Prakāśa can easily be guessed from them (see p. 31, line 16).

(*d*) This commentary ascribes to the Bṛhaddevatā of Śaunaka the following couplet: *svaro varṇo' kṣaraṃ mātrā viniyogārtham* (?) *eva ca, mantraṃ jijñāsamānena veditavyaṃ pade pade* (p. 24, lines 6-7).

38. Of the two available commentaries of the PS., the Śikṣā-Pañjikā seems to be the earlier because it is written in a simpler style and has better acquaintance with the old phonetical traditions. The first point will be clear to any one who will compare for himself the language of the two commentaries. And to substantiate the second point we shall refer the treatment of the Anusvāra. About the exact manner of its pronunciation there is difference of opinion among specialists in the Indo-Aryan linguistics (see Wackernagel, I. §§223-224). Whitney understands the phonetic value of the Anusvāra which is nothing but the nasal vowel (T. Pr. 2. 30, JAOS., Vol. 10, p. lxxxvi;

Mem. Soc. ling. 2. 194 ff. ref. Wackernagel). But Wackernagel and others do not accept this. After a fresh examination of the various Prātiśākhya passages together with the opinion of PŚ. on this point we find Whitney to be right. The Anusvāra is nothing but a nasalization of the preceding vowel. The fuller name of the Anusvāra was Anusvāra-*Nāsikyaḥ* or Anusvāraḥ *Nāsikyaḥ*, a post-vocal nasal or a nasal vowel. It has sometimes been called simply *Nāsika* or *Nāsikya* too. That the name Anunāsika, which according to Pāṇini (I.1.8) means only nasal stops, has been used to indicate nasal vowels for a pretty long time, seems to have been due to a misunderstanding (more about this point in Notes to the PŚ.).

39. Now the anonymous author of the Śikṣā-Pañjikā seems to have been fully aware of the true nature of the Anusvāra. Hence in his comment on Pñj. 17 (PŚ. 14-15) he quotes from Audavraji an entire passage enumerating the Ayogavāhas as follows :

अयोगवाहा: अ: इति विसर्जनीय: ⨯ इति जिह्वामूलीय:, ⌣ इति उपध्मानीय: अं इत्यनुस्वार: नासिक्य: इत्ययोगवाहा: ।

This passage occurs in the first Prapāṭhaka of the Ṛktantra (ed. S. Sastri, p. 2, ll. 11-12) with the difference that the latter reads **इुमित्यनुनासिक:** (v.l. **हिमित्यनुनासिकम्, °नासिक्य:**). In view of the fact that the Ṛktantra mentions **अनुस्वारौ** not much later, and **अनुस्वार** as one of the Ayogavāhas, it is evident that the extant Ṛktantra is corrupt in the passage **इुमित्यनुनासिक:**. The reading **अं इत्यनुस्वार: नासिक्य:** surely goes to the Ur-text of the Audavraji[1] which must have been partially included in his work by the author[2] or the Vṛttikāra or the Ṛktantra.

[1] But some of the other quotations in the Pañjikā from Audavraji are corrupt. (See below.)

[2] Audavraji who has been mentioned in the sūtra 60 of the Ṛktantra can scarcely be its author. The first Prapāṭhaka which is not counted as an integral part of the Ṛktantra by the MS. B was in all likelihood a part of the original work of Audavraji (see ed. S. Sastri, Introduction, p. 34).

40. Thus it appears that the author of the Pañjikā flourished at a time when the original work of Audavraji was still available in a more or less correct form and in fact he may be older than the Vṛttikāra of the Ṛktantra who appears by no means to be modern. Thus apart from offering a help in solving certain problems connected with the text of the PŚ. (see Note) the Śikṣā-Pañjikā has importance on account of the information it gives about Audavraji, who has been mentioned, as far as we know, in four other works :—the Nāradīya Śikṣā (II. 8. 5) and the Śikṣā-Prakāśa commentary to the PŚ. and the Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda (Ind. Stud. IV, pp. 374-386) and the Ṛktantra (S. 60)[1].

Some of Audavraji's passages cited in the Śikṣā Pañjikā occur in the Ṛktantra with its vṛtti and some occur in a distorted manner and some do not occur. Let us quote them below in a classified manner.

(*a*) *Occurring in full.*

i. **अनन्त्यान्तसंयोगे मध्ये यमः पूर्वंगुणः** (ṚT. 2. 14).

ii. **स्पृष्टं करणं स्पर्शानाम् दुःस्पृष्टमन्तःस्थानाम्** (ṚT. 3. 1).

iii. **अनुस्वारौ अं आं इत्यनुस्वारौ, ह्रस्वाद्दीर्घौ दीर्घाद्ध्रस्वो वर्णः** (ṚT. 2. 14. 15).

(*b*) *Occurring with different readings.*

i. **द्वौ नादानुप्रदानौ** (*cf.* ṚT. 3. 3. **नादानुप्रदानाः**) The correct reading seems to have been **द्वौ नादश्वासानुप्रदानौ ।**

ii. **स्पर्शे वर्गस्य स्पर्शग्रहणे च ज्ञेयम् । वर्गस्य ग्रहणं स्थानेष्वित्यधिकारः ;** cf. **स्पर्शे गस्य ॥१॥ स्पर्शवर्गस्य ग्रहणं विज्ञेयम् । स्थानेष्वित्यधिकारः** (ṚT. 7. 1-2) The RT. reading seems to be correct.

iii. **अयोगवाहाः अः इति विसर्जनीय ×क इति जिह्वामूलीय ⌣प इति उपध्मानीय अं इत्यनुस्वारः नासिक्यः इत्ययोगवाहाः** (Diff. with ṚT. shown above).

1 The very fact that the Pañjikā does not quote from any of the late Śikṣā works except the Nāradīya Śikṣā probably show that these latter are later in origin than the Pajikā or at least they were not yet counted as authority at its time. From this fact also we may assume the old age of the Pañjikā.

iv. श्वासोऽघोषाणां तृतीयात् प्रथमानामुभावघोषश्चतुर्थानां युग्माः सोष्माणम् (*Cf.* श्वासोऽघोषाणाम्। तृतीयान् प्रथमानामुभौऽचतुर्थानां (ṚT. 3. 3) also युग्माः सोष्माणः ॥६॥ (ṚT. 7. 10).

(*c*) *Not occurring.*

i. निमेषकाला मात्रा स्यात्।

Besides Audavraji the Pañjikā has laid the following works under contribution : Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Śruti, Chāndogya Śruti (Upaniṣad), Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, Uṇādi Sūtras, Bhagavad Gītā, Patañjali, Manusaṃhitā, Ṛk-Prātiśākhya, Nāradīya Śikṣā.

41. In spite of its importance discussed above the author of the Pañjikā seems to have misunderstood the PŚ. very much; for example, his explanation of PŚ. 13 (=Pñj. 15) may be cited (see Note 23). But in this matter he seems to have been misguided by Uvaṭa[1] if the latter was his predecessor, or both he and Uvaṭa born long after Pāṇini, when the Middle Indo-Aryan speech-habits had already overwhelmed to a certain extent the purity of the Phonetic tradition among the Vedic priests, have independently failed to explain correctly the difference between *e* and *o* with *ai* and *au* respectively. Other features of the Pañjikā have been discussed in Notes.

42. The Śikṣā-Prakāśa or the Prakāśa does not seem to be a very old commentary to the PŚ. Some points regarding its date have been mentioned before. The Prakāśa quotes *verbatim* a passage (p. 23) from Viṣṇumitra's commentary to the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya. Now we do not possess any definite evidence about the time of Viṣṇumitra. The fragment of his writing prefixed to the available MSS. of Uvaṭa's commentary to the ṚPr. shows that he enjoyed some popularity among the Vedic priests and hence his fragment was saved from oblivion by putting it at the beginning of Uvaṭa's work. Thus we may assume that Viṣṇumitra was not later than Uvaṭa (11th century A.C.)

[1] Uvaṭa (on VPr. I. 73) is right so far in his analysis of *ai* and *au*, *a*-element of both being taken as equivalent to a *mātrā*, but his remark अनेनैव क्रमेण एकारौकारौ व्याख्यातौ is not clear and the view of unnamed authority (*kecid*) quoted by him is misleading.

This gives us the upper limit to the Prakāśa; the lower limit is to be had from the author's conjectural identity with the commentator of the Piṅgalacchandaḥ-Sūtras. This is 1300 A.C.

43. This commentary (Prakāśa) quotes from Pāṇini, Yāska, Nāradīya Śikṣā, Gautamī Śikṣā, Śaunaka, Patañjali and Audavraji. The only quota tion from the last authority seems to be taken not from any original work of Audavraji but from some author who quoted him. The case with the author of Pañjikā was different, for he quoted as much as he could (see before). The fact that the Prakāśa does not quote any of the late Śikṣās except the Nāradīya and the Gautamī Śikṣā probably shows that it is not quite modern.

Table C

A Conspectus of Text-units of different Recensions, showing their relative position.

Note.—Numerals indicate the serial number of hemistiches in a particular recension.

Hemistiche.	Ṛk recension.	Yaj. recension.	Prk recension.	Pnj. recension.	Ap. recension.	Reconstructed.
atha śikṣāṃ etc.	1	1	1	1	...	...
śāstrânu-pūrvyaṃ ,, ...	2	2	2	2	...	...
prasiddham api ,, ...	3	3	3	3	...	...
punar vyaktī- ,, ...	4	4	4	4	...	...
triṣaṣṭiś catuṣ- ,, ...	5	5	5	5	*cf* 1	...
Prākṛte Saṃskṛte ,, ...	6	6	6	6	..	...
svarā viṃśatir ,, ...	7	7	7	7	2	1
yādayaś ca ,, ...	8	8	8	8	3	2
anusvāro visargaś ,, ...	9	9	9	9	4	3
duḥspṛṣṭaś câti ,, ...	10	10	10	10	5	4
ātmā buddhyā ,, ...	11	15	11	11	8	5
manaḥ kāyâgnim ,, ...	12	16	12	12	9	6
mārutas tûrasi ,, ...	13	17	13	13	10	7
prātaḥ-savanayogaṃ,, ...	14	18	14	14	11	8
kaṇṭhe mādhyan- ,, ...	15	19	15	15	12	9
tārāṃ tārtīyasavanaṃ,, ...	16	20	16	16	13	10
sodīrṇo mūrdhna- ,, ...	17	21	17	17	14	11
varṇāñ janayate ,, ...	18	22	18	18	15	12
svarataḥ kālataḥ ,, ...	19	23	19	19	16	13
iti varṇa-vidaḥ ,, ...	20	24	20	20	...	14
udāttāś cânudāttaś ,, ...	21	45	*21	21	17	15

Table C—(contd.)

Hemistiches.	Ṛk recension.	Yaj. recension.	Prk. recension.	Pñj. recension.	AP. recension.	Reconstructed.
hrasvo dīrghaḥ etc.	22	46	*22	22	18	16
udātte niṣāda- ,,	23	27	*23	...	...	...
svarita-prabhavā ,,	24	28	*24	...	...	...
aṣṭau sthānāni ,,	25	25	25	23	19	17
jihvāmūlaṃ ca ,,	26	26	26	24	20	18
obhāvaś ca ,,	27	29	*27	...	21	...
jihvāmūlam upadhmā ,,	28	30	*28	..	22	..
yady obhāva ,,	29	31	*29	...	23	...
svarāntaṃ ,,	30	32	*30	..	24	...
hakāraṃ pāñcamair ,,	31	13	31	...	6	19
aurasyaṃ taṃ ,,	32	14	32	...	7	...
kaṇṭhyāv ahā vicu ,,	33	47	33	25	33	21
syūr mūrdhanyā ,,	34	48	34	26	34	22
jihvāmūle tu ,,	35	49	35	27	35	23
e ai tu kaṇṭha- ,,	36	50	40	28	36	24
ardhamātrā tu ,,	37	51	41	29	37	25
ai(o)kāraukārayor ,,	38	52	42	30	...	26
upadhmānīya ūṣmā ,,	...	53	43	32	...	28
saṃvṛtaṃ mātṛkaṃ ,,	39	...	...	...	...	...
ghoṣā vā saṃvṛtāḥ ,,	40	...	...	...	...	...
svarāṇām ūṣmaṇāṃ ,,	41	57	45	...	..	...
tebhyo' pi vivṛtāv ,,	42	58	46	...	...	27
anusvāra-yamānāṃ ,,	43	...	...	31	...	27
ayogavāhā vijñeyā ,,	44	54	44	33	38	29
alābu-vīṇā- ,,	45	55	36*	34	...	30
anusvāras-tu ,,	46	56	37*	35	...	31
anusvāre vivṛtyāṃ ,,	47	...	...	...	...	...

Table C—(contd.)

Hemistiches.		Rk recension.	Yaj. recension.	Prk. recension.	Pñj. recension.	AP. recension.	Reconstructed.
dvir oṣṭhau tu	etc	48	...	...	...	...	...
vyāghrī yathā	,, ...	49	39	58	...	...	...
bhītā patanabhedā	,, ...	50	40	59	..	..	...
yathā saurāṣṭrikā	,, ...	51	...	*38	...	...	...
evaṃ raṅgā	,, ...	52	...	*39	...	...	...
raṅga-varṇaṃ	,, ...	53	...	...	...	...	...
dīrgha-svaraṃ	,, ...	54	...	...	...	..	...
hṛdaye caika-	,, ...	55	...	...	...	...	...
nāsikāyāṃ	,, ...	56	...	...	...	...	...
hṛdayāt utkaṭe	,, ...	57	...	...	...	...	...
mārdavaṃ ca dvimātraṃ	,, ...	58	...	...	...	...	...
madhye tu kampayet	,, ...	59	...	...	...	...	...
saraṅgam kampayet	,, ...	60	...	...	...	...	...
evaṃ varṇāḥ	,, ...	61	41	60	...	31	...
samyag-varṇa-	,, ...	62	42	61	...	32	...
abhyāsārthe drutāṃ	,, ...	...	43	62	...	...	...
śiṣyāṇām upadeśārthe	,, ...	...	44	63	...	...	...
gītī śīghrī	. ...	63	...	...	...	...	...
anarthajño' lpa-	,, ...	64	...	...	...	...	...
mādhuryam akṣara-	,, ...	65	...	...	...		...
dhairyaṃ laya-	,, ...	66	...	...	...	...	...
śaṅkitaṃ bhītaṃ	,, ...	67	...	...	...	...	...
kākasvaraṃ śirasigaṃ	,, ...	68	...	...	...	..	...
urāṃśu-daṣṭaṃ	,, ...	69	...	...	...	...	...
niṣpīḍitaṃ grasta-	,, ...	70	...	..	...	...	..
prātaḥ paṭhen	,, ...	71	...	...	...	...	...
mādhyandine	,, ...	72	...	...	...	...	...

Table C—(contd.)

Hemistiches.				Ṛk recension.	Yaj. recension	Prk. recension	Pñj. recension	AP. recension	Reconstructed.
tāraṃ tu vidyāt	etc.	...	...	73	...	..	...	...	...
mayūra-haṃsānya	,,	...	...	74	...	...	...	...	...
aco'spṛṣṭā vaṇas-	,,	...	...	75	59	47	36	39	32
śeṣāḥ spṛṣṭā-	,,	.	..	76	60	48	37	40	33
ña(ya,)mo'nunāsikā	,,	...	...	77	61	49	38	41	34
īṣannādā yaṇo	,,	...	...	78	62	50	39	42	35
īṣacchvāsāṃś caro	,,	...	...	79	63	51	40	43	36
Dākṣīputraḥ	,,	...	...	80	65	65	...	...	...
ratnabhūtam idaṃ	,,	...	...	. .	66	66	...	...	...
chandaḥ pādau tu	,,	...	...	81 *	. .	...	...	..	...
jyotiṣām ayanaṃ	,,	...	...	82		...	. .	...	...
śikṣā ghrāṇaṃ tu	,,	...	...	83	...	...	...	.	...
tasmāt sāṅgam	,,	...	..	84	...	...	...	...	...
udāttam ākhyāti	,,	...	...	85	...	...	...	...	...
upānta-madhye	,,	...	...	86	...			...	...
udāttaṃ pradeśinīṃ	,	...	...	87	..	...	...	...	...
n hataṃ tu	,,	...	..	88	...	...	...	...	...
antodāttam	,,	...	...	89	..	...	...	...	...
madhyodāttaṃ	,,	...	...	90	..	...	..	...	...
agniḥ somaḥ	,,	...	...	91	...	...	...	...	...
agnir ity antodāttaṃ	,,	...	...	92	..	...	...	...	...
haviṣā madhyodāttaṃ	,,	...	...	93-94	...	..	...	...	...
anudātto hṛdi	,,	...	..	95	..	.	...	...	...
svaritaḥ karṇa-	,,	...	...	96	...	...	...	...	...
cāṣas tu	,,	...	...	97	...	...	...	...	...
śikhī rauti	,,	...	...	98	..	...	...	...	...
kutīrthād agataṃ	,,	...	...	99	33	52	...	25	...

Table C—(contd.)

Hemistiches.	Ṛk recension.	Yaj. recension.	Prk. recension.	Pñj. recension.	AP. recension.	Reconstructed.
na tasya pāṭhe etc.	100	34	53	...	26	...
sutīrthād āgataṃ ,, ...	101	35	54	...	27	...
susvareṇa ,, ...	102	36	55	...	28	...
na karālo na lamboṣṭho ,, ...	..	37	56	...	29	...
gadgado vadhajihvaś-ca ,, ...	...	38	57	...	30	...
mantro hīnaḥ ,, ...	103	...	...	48	...	...
sa vāgvajro ,, ...	104	...	...	42	...	...
avakṣaraṃ ,, ...	105	...	...	...	...	...
akṣarā śastra-rūpeṇa ,, ...	106	...	...	...	...	...
hastahīnaṃ,, ,, ...	107	...	...	...	...	...
ṛg-yajuḥ-sāmabhir- ,, ...	108	...	...	...	...	...
hastena vedaṃ ,, ...	109	...	...	...	...	...
ṛg-yajuḥ-sāmabhiḥ pūto ,, ...	110	...	...	..	...	...
Śaṅkaraḥ Śāṅkarīṃ ,, ...	111	64	64	43	...	...
vāṅmayebhyaḥ ,, ...	112	...	...	44	...	...
yenākṣara-samāmnāyam,, ...	113	67	...	45	...	...
kṛtsnaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ ,, ...	114	68	...	46	...	...
yena dhautā ,, ...	115	...	...	...	..	...
tamaś cājñānajaṃ ,, ...	116	...	...	...	...	...
ajñānāndhasya ,, ...	117	...	...	...	...	...
cakṣur unmīlitaṃ ,, ...	118	...	...	...	...	...
trinayanam-abhimukha- , ...	119	69	67	47	...	...
sa bhavati dharadhānya-,, ...	120	70	68	48	...	...

॥१॥

I. संस्कृतं मूलम् (The Reconstructed Text)

[वर्णसमाम्नायः]

[अ इ उ ण् ॥ ऋ ऌ क् ॥ ए ओ ङ् ॥ ऐ औ च् ॥
ह य व र ट् ॥ ल ण् ॥ ञ म ङ ण न म् ॥ झ भ ञ् ॥
घ ढ ध ष् ॥ ज ब ग ड द श् ॥ ख फ छ ठ थ च ट त व् ॥
क प य् ॥ श ष स र् ॥ ह ल् ॥]

[वर्णसंख्या]

स्वरा विंशतिरेकश्च स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंशतिः ।
यादयश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टौ चत्वारश्च यमाः स्मृताः ॥१॥
अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च ×क ⌣पौ चापि पराश्रयौ ।
दुःस्पृष्टश्चेति विज्ञेयो ऌकारः प्लुत एव च ॥२॥

[वर्णोत्पादो वर्णविभागश्च]

आत्मा बुद्ध्या समेत्यार्थान् मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया ।
मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ॥३॥
मारुतस्तूरसि चरन् मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् ।
प्रातःसवनयोगं तं छन्दो गायत्रमाश्रितम् ॥४॥

कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं त्रैष्टुभानुगम् ।
तारं तार्तीयसवनं शीर्षण्यं जागतानुगम् ॥५॥
सोदीर्णो मूर्ध्न्यभिहतो वक्त्रमापद्य मारुतः ।
वर्णाञ्जनयते तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ॥६॥
स्वरतः कालतः स्थानात् प्रयत्नानुप्रदानतः ।
इति वर्णविदः प्राहुर्निपुणं तं निबोधत ॥७॥

[स्वरत्रयं कालत्रयञ्च]

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्रयः ।
ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति कालतो नियमा अचि ॥८॥

[उच्चारण-स्थानानि]

अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।
जिह्वामूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठौ च तालु च ॥९॥
हकारं पञ्चमैर्युक्तमन्तःस्थाभिश्च संयुतम् ।
औरस्यं तं विजानीयात् कण्ठ्यमाहुरसंयुतम् ॥१०॥
कण्ठ्यावहाविचुयशास्तालव्या ओष्ठजावुपू ।
स्युर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरषा दन्त्या लृतुलसाः स्मृताः ॥११॥
जिह्वामूले तु कुः प्रोक्तो दन्त्योष्ठ्यो वः स्मृतो बुधैः ।
ए ऐ तु कण्ठतालव्या ओ औ कण्ठोष्ठजौ स्मृतौ ॥१२॥
अर्धमात्रा तु कण्ठस्य एकारौकारयोर्भवेत् ।
ऐकारौकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विवृतसंवृतम् ॥१३॥
अनुस्वारयमानां च नासिकास्थानमुच्यते ।
उपध्मानीय ऊष्मा च जिह्वामूलीयनासिके ॥१४॥

अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभागिनः ।
अलाबुवीणानिर्घोषोऽदन्त्यमूल्यः स्वराननु ॥१५॥
अनुस्वारस्तु कर्त्तव्यो नित्यं ह्नोः शषसेषु च ।

[प्रयत्न-भेदाः]

अचोऽस्पृष्टा यणस्त्वीषन्नेमस्पृष्टाः शलः स्मृताः ॥१६॥
शेषाः स्पृष्टा हलः प्रोक्ता

[अनुप्रदान-भेदाः]

निबोधानुप्रदानतः ।
ञमोऽनुनासिका नह्नौ नादिनो हझषः स्मृताः ॥१७॥
ईषन्नादा यणो जश्च श्वासिनस्तु खफादयः ।
ईषच्छ्वासांश्चरो विद्याद् गोर्धामैतत् प्रचक्षते ॥१८॥

॥२॥

II. अग्निपुराणान्तर्गता (The Agni-Purāṇa Recension)

वक्ष्ये [1]शिक्षां त्रिषष्टिः स्युर्वर्णा वा [2]चतुरधिकाः ।
स्वरा विंशतिरेकश्च स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंशतिः ॥१॥

॥1॥ यादयश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टौ चत्वारश्च [3]यमाः स्मृताः ।
अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च[4] × क≍पौ चापि [5]पराश्रितौ ॥२॥

॥2॥ दुःस्पृष्टश्चेति [6]विज्ञेयो [7]ऌकारः प्लुत एव च ।[8]
[9]हकारं पञ्चमैर्युतमन्तःस्थाभिश्च संयुतम् ॥३॥

॥10॥ औरस्यं तं विजानीयात् कण्ठ्यमाहुरसंयुतम् ।
आत्मा बुद्ध्या समेत्यार्थान् [10]मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया ॥४॥

॥3॥ मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ।
मारुतस्तूरसि चरन् [11]मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् ॥५॥

॥4॥ [12]प्रातःसवनयोगं तं छन्दो गायत्रमाश्रितम् ।
कण्ठे [13]माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं त्रैष्टुभानुगम् ॥६॥

1. M. शिक्षान्. 2. M. चतुराधिकाः. 3. M. समाः for यमाः.
4. M. पौष्यौ for × क≍पौ. 5. M. परान्वितौ for पराश्रितौ.
6. M. विज्ञेया. 7. MPbc. एकारः for ऌकारः.
8. In all MSS. after 3a occurs the following: रङ्गश्च खे चरं प्रोक्तं हकारः पञ्चमैर्युतः । अन्तस्थाभिः समायुक्तः औरः कण्ठ एव सः ॥ For रङ्गश्च खे चरं Pac read वक्ष्ये मुखेऽचरं and for प्रोक्तं हकारं Pbc read प्रोक्तमकारं, and for कण्ठ्य एव सः Pbc has कण्ठ ए कासः. M. चात्मबुध्या समस्यार्थं. 9. V. om. See Introduction 2a. 10. M. मनोयुक्ते.
11. M. मन्त्रं for मन्द्रं, Mb. मापम्. 12. M. °योगस्तु. 13. M. माध्यन्दिनं युगं,

||5|| तारं तार्तीयसवनं शीर्षण्यं जागतानुगम् ।
सोदीर्णो मूर्ध्न्यभिहतो वक्त्रमापद्य मारुतः ॥७॥
||6|| वर्णाञ्जनयते तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ।
||7a|| स्वरतः कालतः स्थानात् [1]प्रयत्नानुप्रदानतः ॥८॥
उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्रयः ।
||8|| ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति कालतो नियमा अचि[2] ॥९॥
अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।
||9|| जिह्वामूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठौ च तालु च ॥१०॥
[3]ओभावश्च विवृत्तिश्च शषसा रेफ एव च ।
जिह्वामूलम् उपध्मा च गतिरष्टविधोष्मणः ॥११॥
यद्योभावप्रसन्धानम् उकारादिपरं पदम् ।
स्वरान्तं तादृशं विद्याद् यदन्यद्व्यक्तमूष्मणः ॥१२॥
[4]कुतीर्थादागतं दग्धम् अपवर्णं च भक्षितम् ।
[5]न तस्य पाठे मोक्षोऽस्ति पापाहेरिव किल्बिषात् ॥१३॥
सुतीर्थादागतं व्यक्तं [6]स्वाम्नाय्यं सुव्यवस्थितम् ।
सुस्वरेण सुवक्त्रेण प्रयुक्तं ब्रह्म [7]राजते ॥१४॥
न करालो न लम्बोष्ठो नाव्यक्तो नानुनासिकः ।
गद्गदो बद्धजिह्वश्च न वर्णान् वक्तुमर्हति ॥१५॥
[8]एवं वर्णाः प्रयोक्तव्या नाव्यक्ता नातिपीडिताः ।
सम्यग्वर्णप्रयोगेण ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥१६॥

1. P. प्रयत्नार्थप्रदानतः. 2. M. °वधि.

3. M. स्वभावश्च विवृत्तिश्च and P. अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च for ओभावश्च विवृत्तिश्च.

4. M. कुतीर्थाद°.

5. P. reads एकमुच्चारयं पापमिवमुच्चारयं शुभम् instead of 13*b* (न तस्य पाठे etc.) and M. एवमुच्चारय......शुभम्.

6. M. माम्नायं. 7. M. राजनि.

8. P*bcd* give this couplet preceded by यथा व्याघ्री हरेत् पुत्रान् दंष्ट्राभ्यां न च पीडयेत् ।—(Yajus. 20a). P. gives 17b-18a as its 18, and 19b-20a as its 20,

[1]कण्ठ्यावहाविचुयशास्तालव्या ओष्ठजावुपू ।
॥11॥ स्युर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरषा दन्त्या लृतुलसाः स्मृताः ॥१७॥
जिह्वामूले तु कुः प्रोक्तो दन्त्योष्ठ्यो वः स्मृतो बुधैः ।
॥12॥ ए ऐ तु [2]कण्ठतालव्यावोऔ कण्ठोष्ठजौ स्मृतौ ॥१८॥
॥13a॥ अर्द्धमात्रा तु [3]कण्ठ्यस्य एकारैकारयोर्भवेत् ।
॥15a॥ अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभागिनः ॥१९॥
॥16b॥ अचोऽस्पृष्टा यणस्त्वीषन्नेमस्पृष्टाः[4] शलः[5] स्मृताः ।
शेषाः स्पृष्टा हलः प्रोक्ता [6]निबोधानुप्रदानतः ॥२०॥
॥17॥ अमोऽनुनासिका नह्रौ नादिनो हझषः स्मृताः ।
ईषन्नादा [8]यणो जश्च श्वासिनश्च [9]खफादयः ।
18॥ [10]ईषच्छ्वासांश्चरो विद्याद् गोर्धामैतत् प्रचक्षते ॥२१॥

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1. P. कण्ठ्याकुहाविचुयशा.
2. P. °तालव्या ए औ.
3. MV. कण्ठ्य स्यादेकारैकार°.
4. P. नैमा: (म) स्पृष्टा: and M. नो मा: स्पृष्टा: for -नेमस्पृष्टा:.
5. MV. शर: for शल:.
6. PM. निबोधाच प्रधानत: for निबोधानुप्रदानत:.
7. M. अमोऽनुनासिका नञो नादिनो.
8. P. तमथैव, M. प(य)ण् यश:.
9. M. जफादय:.
10. P. ईषच्छ्वास.

॥३॥

III. पञ्जिका-सहिता (With the Pañjikā)

*अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामि पाणिनीयं मतं यथा ।
शास्त्रानुपूर्व्यं तद्विद्याद् यथोक्तं लोकवेदयोः ॥१॥

[1]पातु वो निकषग्रावा मतिहेम्नः सरस्वती ।
प्राज्ञेतरपरिच्छेदं वचसैव करोति या ॥
छन्दःकल्पनिरुक्तानि [2]विवृतानीह सूरिभिः ।
[3]शिक्षा न विवृता यस्मात्तस्मात्तां विवृणोम्यहम् ॥

अ थ शि क्षां प्र व क्ष्या मी ति । अथेत्ययमानन्तर्ये । वेदाध्ययनानन्तरमङ्गपाठः । किं कारणम् ? 'षडङ्गो [4]वेदोऽध्येतव्यः' इति स्मरणात् । तत्र [5]च शिक्षा प्रथमा, अथशब्दानुषङ्गात् । सा [6]च वक्तव्या इत्यथशब्दस्य [7]अर्थः । एतेनैव [8]सिद्धे वेदस्याङ्गानन्तर्ये व्याकरणादिष्वथशब्दोऽत एव [9]नाधीयते । केषुचित् कल्पेषु अधीयते इति चेत् 'अथातोऽधिकारः,' 'अथैतस्य समाम्नायस्य' इत्येवमादिषु नैष दोषः । नियमार्थः सः, [10]शिक्षानन्तरं कल्प एवाध्येतव्यो नान्यानीति[11] । मङ्गलार्थो वा । आदौ सम्बन्धाभिधेयप्रयोजनानि वक्तव्यानि । तत्र [12]चायमेव सम्बन्धो यदुक्तोऽङ्गाङ्गिभावः । [13]नित्यसम्बन्धीनि अङ्गान्यङ्गिनः । अभिधेयं तु स्वयमेव वक्ष्यति—'वाच उच्चारणे विधिम्' इति । प्रयोजनं सम्यग्वर्णोच्चारणम् । प्रयोजनमपि श्रूयते एव—

1. *Before this* A^1B *have* श्रीगणेशाय नमः ; A^1 also ओं नमो गणपतये, A^2H अथ वेदाङ्गशिक्षाप्रारम्भः श्रीगणेशाय नमः *and* B पातु वो.

2. B विवृता°. 3. IB शिक्षा त्वविवृतास्तार्थं व्यातस्मातां. 4. A^2 °वेदोऽध्येय.

5. A^2 *omits* च. 6. BHL *omit* च. 7. A^1 *omits* अर्थः ... वेदस्य.

8. सिद्धे सांगा° *for* सिद्धे वेदस्याङ्गा°. 9. H. विधीयते.

10. B. शिक्षाया अनन्तरं. 11. A^2 *omits* इति.

12. B *omits* एव. 13. HLA^2 °न्धानि स्वाङ्गानि ; B. °न्धिनी स्वाङ्गानि.

*प्रसिद्धमपि शब्दार्थमविज्ञातमबुद्धिभिः ।
पुनर्व्यक्तीकरिष्यामि वाच उच्चारणे विधिम् ॥२॥

'[1]एकोऽपि वर्णः सम्यक् प्रयुक्तः, स्वर्गे लोके[2] कामधुग् भवति' इति। शिक्ष्यतेऽनया वर्णोच्चारणमिति शिक्षा, तां प्रकर्षेण वक्ष्यामि कथयिष्यामि। पा णि नी यं म तं य थे ति। पाणिनीयमिति 'वृद्धाच्छः' (पा. ४.२.११४) इति छप्रत्ययः। तस्येदमित्यर्थनिर्देशः। म त मि ति। [3]'मन ज्ञाने' पाणिनीयं मतं ज्ञानं यथा तथा प्रवक्ष्यामि तैरेव प्रत्याहारैस्तथैव [4]परिभाषया 'अचोऽस्पृष्टा यणस्त्वीषत्' इत्यादि 'अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः' (पा. १.१.६८) इति[5] 'कण्ठ्यावहाविचुयशाः' इति च। [6]तथाऽन्यदप्यनुक्तमत्र प्रयोजनं यत्तद् व्याकरणादेव ग्रहीतव्यं 'मोऽनुस्वारः' (पा. ८.३.२३) इति। ननु व्याकरणे शब्दचिन्ता, अत्रापि [7]सेति। ततश्च व्याकरणेनैव सिद्धत्वादिदमनारभ्यम्? सत्यम्; उभयोः शब्दचिन्ता, किन्तु व्याकरणे एतच्चिन्त्यते—गोशब्दः सास्नादिमत्यर्थे साधुः, इह तु गोशब्दो जिह्वामूलेनोच्चारयितव्य इति भेदः। शा स्त्रा नु पू र्व्यं त द्वि द्या दि ति। शास्त्रमिति शासेः करणे ष्ट्रन्प्रत्ययः। आनुपूर्व्यमिति गुरुपूर्वक्रमः। तदिति पाणिनिमतपरामर्शः। [8]तत् पाणिनिमतमेवास्यापि शिक्षाख्यशास्त्रस्याप्यानुपूर्व्यं विद्याद् वंशपरम्परां जानीयात्। पाणिनि-मतस्य यदानुपूर्व्यं यो गुरुपूर्वक्रमः स एवास्येत्यर्थः। तथा च वक्ष्यति—'शङ्करः शाङ्करीं प्रादात्'[9] इत्यादि। य थो क्तं लो क वे द यो रि ति। [10]समानार्थमित्यर्थः। तथा च [11]भाष्यकारः—"य एव लौकिकाः शब्दास्त एव वैदिकास्त एव [12]तेषामर्थाः" इति ॥१॥

नन्वकारादयो वर्णा स्वस्थानेनैवोच्चार्यन्ते [13]परस्थाननिराकाङ्क्षत्वात्, [14]किमर्थः शास्त्रारम्भ इत्याशङ्क्याह—

[15]प्र सि द्ध मि ति। अबुद्धिभिर्बुद्धिहीनैः प्रसिद्धमपि शब्दार्थमविज्ञातं [16]सन्तं

1. HILB एको वर्णः.
2. A¹ adds च.
3. H मत ज्ञाने.
4. A¹A² °स्तथैव परिभाषया.
5. B adds च.
6. A¹ °न्यदप्यनुक्तममत्र।
7. A¹ सेवे A² omits इति।
8. HLA² omit तत् पाणिनि° ... जानीयात्.
9. B इति for इत्यादि.
10. A² समानमित्यर्थः.
11. A² भाष्यकाराः.
12. HL तेष्वर्था इति.
13. A¹ परस्य निराकाङ्क्षत्वात्.
14. HLA¹ किमर्थं(?).
15. BA¹ *quote the entire śloka* 2.
16. A¹A² सम्मतं *for* सन्तं.

*त्रिषष्टिश्चतुःषष्टिर्वा वर्णाः सम्भवतो मताः ।
प्राकृते संस्कृते चापि स्वयं प्रोक्ताः स्वयंभुवा ॥३॥
स्वरा विंशतिरेकश्च स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंशतिः ।
॥1॥ यादयश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टौ चत्वारश्च यमाः स्मृताः ॥४॥

पुनः पश्चाद् व्यक्तीकरिष्यामि स्फुटीकरिष्यामि । किम्? वाच उच्चारणे विधिम्, वाचो [1]गिरस्तः उच्चारणे [2]उद्गिरणे विधिं विधानम् । ननु विधिरत्यन्तमप्राप्तौ इति स्मर्यते, न चात्रात्यन्तमप्राप्तिः ; उक्तं च अधस्तात्—अकारादयो वर्णाः स्वस्थानेनैवोच्चार्यन्ते इति । उच्यते, यद्यपि स्वस्थानस्थिता उच्चार्यन्ते तथाप्यप्राप्तोऽंशः[3] कथनीयोऽतोऽनु-[4]प्रदानादिः, एतदर्थो[5] विधिशब्दः ॥२॥

वागुच्चारणं [6]वर्णैः क्रियते, कतिसंख्यास्ते इत्यत आह—

त्रि ष ष्टि श्च तुः ष ष्टि र्वे ति । सम्भवत इति सम्भूतेः सकाशान्मताः जाताः । वर्णो वृणोतेः । अत्र 'यथोक्तं लोकवेदयोः' इत्युक्तम् । तत्र किं लोके संस्कृत-विषया एव वर्णा उत सर्वभाषाविषया इत्याह—प्राकृते संस्कृते चापीति । अपि-शब्दादपभ्रंशादिष्वपि ये वर्णाः सम्भूतिजाताः सन्तः तेऽपि । स्व यं प्रो क्ताः स्व य-म्भु वे ति । ब्रह्मणा [7]स्वयमेवादरेण प्रकर्षेणोच्चारिताः ॥३॥

कथं ते[8] त्रिषष्टिः कथं वा [9]चतुःषष्टिरित्याशङ्क्याह—

स्व रा विं श ति रे क श्चे ति । स्वरा इति 'स्वृ शब्दोपतापयोः' स्वर्यते शब्द्यतेऽनेन व्यञ्जनमिति करणेऽच्प्रत्ययः । कथं ते[10] एकविंशतिः ? [11]ततश्चतुरो स्वरान् मया यथाप्रश्नं यथास्मृति विवृणोमि—अ इ उ ऋ एते चत्वारो ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुत-भेदेन द्वादश । ऌकारस्य दीर्घादयो न सन्तीति स्मरणात् ह्रस्व एवोपदिश्यते, [12]अत एते त्रयोदश । ए ऐ ओ औ सन्ध्यक्षराणि, सन्ध्यक्षराणामपि ह्रस्वा न सन्तीति स्मरणात्

1. A¹A² गिरस्तदुच्चारणे. 2. B om. उद्गिरणे. 3. A¹ adds कथं.
4. H °प्रदानादिति. 5. A¹ पदार्थो शब्दो and A² पदार्थो विधिशब्दः for एतदर्थो विधिशब्दः.
6. LA¹A² add च before this. 7. C °दरण for °दरेण.
8. L omits ते. 9. B चतुःषष्टिः स्वरित्या°. 10. B omits ते.
11. A¹A² omit this word ; before this I ततः स्वराश्चया. 12. A¹ त for अत.

दीर्घप्लुता एवं गृह्यन्ते [1]तत एतेऽष्टौ पूर्वैस्त्रयोदशभिः सहैकविंशतिः। स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंशतिः। कादयो मावसानाः स्पर्शाः। जिह्वामूलतालुमूर्द्धदन्तोष्ठादिभिः[2] परस्परं स्पर्शैरभिनिष्पन्ना[3] आविर्भवन्तीति स्पर्शाः। [4]पूर्वयैकविंशत्या सह षट्चत्वारिंशत्। यादयश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टाविति। यकारादयश्च अष्टौ—य र ल व श ष स हा इति। [5]अत्र आद्याश्चत्वारोऽन्तःस्थसंज्ञाः, उपरितना ऊष्माणः। [6]पूर्वया षट्चत्वारिंशता सह चतुःपञ्चाशत्। चत्वारश्च यमाः स्मृता इति। [7]यच्छतीति यमः, स्वयमेवोपरमते[8]। के ते यमाः? लोके कुं खुं गुं घुं इति। [9]"अनन्त्यान्त्यसंयोगे मध्ये यमः पूर्वगुणः" इत्यौदव्रजिः। [10]तथा च—

[11]ह्रस्वादिभेदैश्चत्वारः प्रथमा द्वादश स्मृताः।
ऌकारो ह्रस्व एवैचोऽष्टौ स्वरा एकविंशतिः॥
पञ्चविंशतिरष्टाभिः स्पर्शाः स्युर्यादयो यमाः।
अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च ×क ⌢पौ प्लुतऌकारकः॥
त्रिषष्टिरेवं वर्णाः स्युर्ह्रस्वदीर्घादिभेदतः।[12]
अनुस्वारद्वयाद्वर्णाश्चतुःषष्टिरितीरिताः॥

तथा च नारदः—

अनन्त्यश्च [13]भवेत् पूर्वो अन्तिमः परतो यदि।
तत्र मध्ये यमस्तिष्ठेत् सवर्णः पूर्ववर्णयोः॥
वर्गान्त्यान् शषसैः सार्द्धमन्तःस्थैर्वाऽपि संयुतान्।
दृष्ट्वा [14]यमा निवर्तन्ते आदेशिकमिवाध्वगाः॥ (ना. शि. २,२,८-९)

इति [15]नारदौदव्रज्योर्मतेन यमो वर्णागम इति [16]विधीयते। [17]अस्मात् शास्त्रात्

1. A^1A^2 त एते.   2. A^1 *omits* °दिभिः.
3. A^1A^2 °निष्पत्य.   4. A^2 पूर्व्वं एक-.   5. MB *omits* अत्र.
6. H. पूर्व्वैः षट्चत्वारिंशद्भिः; I °चत्वारिंशता.   7. CA^1 यच्छन्तीति यमाः.
8. °वोपरमेरन्, A^2 °वोपरमतःपरम लोके ते.
9. A^2 °अनन्तमयोगे मध्ये यमः.   10. $HBIA^2$ *omit* तथा च.
11. I A^2HLB *omit this and the two following ślokas.*   12. A^1 °द्विभेदतः.
13. H. भवेत् पूर्वो ह्यन्तिमश्च, B °××त् पूर्वोऽन्तिमश्च, I पूर्वो ह्यन्तिमश्च, L पूर्वांतिमश्च. A^1A^2पूर्वो ह्यन्यश्च.   14. A^1 यमानुवर्तन्ते.
15. IBH °व्रजिभ्यां मतेन, A^1 °व्रजिभ्यां न.   16. B *omits* विधीयते.
17. B *om.* अस्मात्......इति.

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च ×क⌓पौ चापि पराश्रयौ ।
॥2॥ दुःस्पृष्टश्चेति विज्ञेयो ऌकारः प्लुत एव च ॥५॥

'चत्वारश्च यमाः स्मृताः' इति वर्णान्तरत्वेनोपदेशः संयोगशास्त्रात् । अथ चतुरक्षराणामुदाहरणमिति प्रकृत्य [1]अग्ग्निरिति गकारौ द्वौ यमो नकार इकारश्चेति । अन्ये तु यमं वर्णापत्तिं मन्यन्ते । तथा च शौनकः—"स्पर्शा यमाननुनासिकाः [2]स्वान् परेषु स्पर्शेष्वनुनासिकेषु" (ऋ. प्रा. १.६.८) इति । [3]पूर्वया चतुःपञ्चाशता सहाष्टपञ्चाशत् ॥४॥

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्चेति । स्वरमनु भवतीत्यनुस्वारः, [स्वरम्] अनु [4]अकारा[द्य]नुगमनेनानुस्वारः । वक्ष्यति च 'दन्तमूल्यः स्वराननु' इति । विसर्ग इति । विविधं सृज्यते क्षिप्यते इति विसर्गः । ×क⌓पौ चापि [5]पराश्रयाविति । पराश्रयाविति परौ ककारपकारौ आश्रयस्थानं ययोस्तौ पराश्रयौ । तथा च वक्ष्यति—"अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभागिनः" इति ।

अपरः पाठः—×क⌓पावपि[6] परौ स्मृतौ । अनुस्वारविसर्गयोः परावित्यर्थः । [7]अपरोऽपि पाठः—×क⌓पौ वापि कपाश्रयौ । ककारपकारौ आश्रयः स्थानं ययोस्तौ कपाश्रयौ । चशब्दादनुस्वारविसर्जनीयावपि पराश्रयौ । दुःस्पृष्टश्चेतीति दुःस्पृष्ट ईषत्स्पृष्टो वर्णधर्मो न वर्णान्तरम् । वक्ष्यति च—'अचोऽस्पृष्टा यणस्त्वीषत्' इति । तथा चोदव्रजिः-"तत्र स्पृष्टं करणं स्पर्शानाम्,' 'दुःस्पृष्टमन्तःस्थानाम्' इति । यणभक्तिश्च [9]ऌकारो विद्यते । अतो ऌकारो दुःस्पृष्टधर्मा चशब्दात् ऋकारः । इतिशब्दः पादपूरणार्थः । ऌकार इति । ऌवर्णात्

1. B. अग्निरिति गकारौ द्वौ, A[1] I अग्ग्निरिति यमौ गकारनकाराविति, A[2] अग्निभ(?)रिति ग यम नकार ककाराविति, C अग्ग्निरिति यमौ गकारौ द्वौ नकार.

2. B. स्वानुपरेषु, H स्वःपरेषु, L स्वापरेषु, A[1] स्वात् परेषु I स्ववेयात्.

3. BA[2] पूर्वं चतुःपञ्चाशत् सहा° IH पूर्वेश्चतुःपञ्चाशद्भिः सह.

4. A[1]A[2]B. अकारानुग°, IHL. अकाराग°, A[3] अकारानुगमनात्°.

5. B पराश्रितौ. 6. B ° पाविति. 7. B *omits* अपरोऽपि पाठः.

8. IB *omit* तत्र, IHLA[2] करणं for प्रयतनं A *adds* करणं *after* प्रयतनं.

9. BHL यकारो भिद्यते, IL *have in the margin* यण् भक्तिश्च लृकारो विद्यते यणकारणक इत्यर्थः, B यण् भक्तिं च भक्तिश्च लृकारो विद्यते यणकारणक इत्यर्थः.

आत्मा बुद्ध्या समेत्यार्थान्मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया।
॥3॥ मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ॥६॥

कारप्रत्ययः। प्लु त ए वे ति। ऌकारस्य दीर्घादयो न सन्तीत्यधस्तात् परमतमुपन्यस्तम्, स्वमतं चाह—ऌकारः प्लुत एव च इति त्रिमात्रः चशब्दाद् ह्रस्वश्च। ननु वर्णानां प्रयत्नमुपरिष्टाद्वक्ष्यत्येव, किमर्थमप्रस्तुतः प्रयत्नः कथ्यते? उच्यते, प्लुतविधानार्थं तावत् ऌकार उच्चारयितव्यः उच्चारिते च ऌकारे लाघवार्थमप्रस्तुतोऽपि[1] प्रयत्न उच्चारितः दुःस्पृष्टश्चेति। अनुस्वारादयः प्लुतान्ताः पञ्च। [2]पूर्वयाऽष्टपञ्चाशता सह त्रिषष्टिः। चतुःषष्टिः कथम्? [3]अनुस्वारौ विसर्गश्चेति पाठान्तरात्। कथं पुनरनुस्वारद्वयम्? ह्रस्वदीर्घभेदेनेति ब्रूमः। तथा चौदव्रजिः—"अनुस्वारावंआं इत्यनुस्वारो [4]ह्रस्वाद्दीर्घो दीर्घाद्ध्रस्वो वर्णौ" इति। अत एव चतुःषष्टिः ॥५॥

अथ वर्णसंख्यापरिज्ञानोत्तरकालं चिन्त्यते क एषामुच्चारयिता, कथं चोच्चारयति, केन क्रमेण चेत्याह—

आ त्मे ति। आत्मा शरीरेन्द्रियमनोबुद्धिव्यतिरिक्तः। कथं पुनरेतदवगम्यते यथा शरीरेन्द्रियमनोबुद्धिव्यतिरिक्त आत्मा? उच्यते—[5]द्रष्टृत्वात्, द्रष्टा हि दृश्याद् व्यतिरिक्तो भवति, प्रयोजकत्वात्। 'बुद्ध्यादीनि कर्तृप्रयोज्यानि, करणत्वात्, कुठारवत्' इति न्यायात्, श्रुतेश्च। न्यायस्तावत्, 'अग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात् स्वर्गकामः' इति स्वर्गादिफलसाधनानि कर्माणि श्रूयन्ते। स्वर्गश्च [6]नवशरीरोपभोग्यः, तद्व्यतिरिक्त आत्मा [7]शरीरादेः। श्रुतेश्च, "तस्य हैतस्य हृदयस्याग्रं प्रद्योतते तेन प्रद्योतेनैष आत्मा निष्क्रामति चक्षुषो वा मूर्ध्नो वाऽन्येभ्यो वा शरीरदेशेभ्यः" (बृह. आ. ४.४.२) इति। शरीरापक्रमणाच्च शरीरादिव्यतिरिक्त आत्मा। छान्दोग्यश्रुतेश्च "एवमेवैष संप्रसादोऽस्माच्छरीरात्समुत्थाय परं [8]ज्योतिरुपसंपद्य स्वेन रूपेणाभिनिष्पद्यते" (८. १२. ३) इति। क एषामुच्चारयितेति पृष्टे तस्योत्तरं दत्तम्—आत्मेति। कथमुच्चारयति केन क्रमेणेति प्रश्नद्वयस्योत्तरं दीयते—स आत्मा बुद्ध्या सहार्थान्

1. A[1] *omits* °ऽपि.
2. IHLA[1]A[2] पूर्वैरष्टपञ्चाशद्भिः, B पूर्व-द्रष्टा.
3. B अनुस्वारौ विसर्गः.
4. BL ह्रस्वादीर्घौ दीर्घाह्रस्वौ, LA[1]A[2] ह्रस्वदीर्घौ (घो) दीर्घह्रस्वौ (स्वो), I ह्रस्वदीर्घौ दीर्घाद्ध्रस्व इति.
5. A[1]I *omits* द्रष्टृत्वात् ... इति न्यायात्, A[2] *omits* द्रष्टृत्वात् ... कुठारवत्, HL *put* इति *before* द्रष्टृत्वात्.
6. A[1]A[2] वायुशरीरोप°, B नवशरीरभोग्यः.
7. HL शरीरादिः.
8. B ज्योतीरुप°.

मारुतस्तूरसि चरन्मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् ।
॥4॥ प्रातःसवनयोगं तं छन्दो गायत्रमाश्रितम् ॥७॥
कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं त्रैष्टुभानुगम् ।
॥5॥ तारं तार्तीयसवनं शीर्षण्यं जागतानुगम् ॥८॥

बाह्यान् समर्थं सम्यग् अवगम्य अर्थप्रत्यायनाय यदि शब्दा उच्चार्यन्ते तदा मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया [1]वक्तुमिच्छा विवक्षा तया। तच्च मनो नियुङ्क्ते आत्मा। म नः का या ग्नि मा ह न्ती ति। तच्च मनो नियुक्तं सत् कायाग्निमाहन्ति कायाग्निं शरीराग्निम् आभिमुख्येन हन्ति। स प्रे र य ति मा रु त मि ति। सोऽग्निरभिहतः सन् मारुतं वायुं प्रेरयति ॥६॥

मा रु त स्तू र सि च र न्म न्द्रं ज न य ति स्व र मि ति। मारुतो वायुरुरसि [2]चरन्मन्द्रं स्वरम् उत्पादयति। मन्द्रमिति मन्दे रक्प्रत्ययः। प्रा तः स व न-यो ग मि ति। प्रातः सवनेन सह योगोऽस्येति प्रातःसवनयोगस्तम्, [3]तथा च ऐतरेयब्राह्मणे 'अथ मन्द्रं तपति तस्मात् मन्द्रया वाचा प्रातःसवने शंसेत्' (१४.६) इति। [4]गायत्रं गायतेः [5]स्तुतिकर्मणः; आच्छादयति छन्दः ॥७॥

क ण्ठ इति। मारुत इति [6]अनुवर्तते, सवनं छन्दः स्वरं चरन्निति च। वर्णान् जनयतीति यावत्। कण्ठे चरन् वायुर्मध्यमं स्वरं जनयति। कण्ठे इति 'कणेष्ठः' (उ. सू. १०४) इति ठप्रत्ययः। मध्यं दिनं युनक्तीति [7]माध्यन्दिनं सवनभाजं त्रिष्टुप्छन्दोऽनुगामिनम्। ता र मि ति। तार्तीयसवनमिति तृतीय-सवनभाजं तारं स्वरं शीर्षण्यमिति मूर्द्धनि चरन् वायुं जनयत्युत्पादयति जागतं छन्दोऽनुगामिनम्। जागतं छन्दोऽनुगच्छतीति जागतानुगः। शीर्षण्यमिति 'शीर्षंश्छन्दसि' (पा. ६.१.६०) इति शिरःशब्दस्य शीर्षभावः। तत्र भवं शीर्षण्यम् ॥८॥

1. L *omits* वक्तुमिच्छा विवक्षा तया तच्च, BH वक्तुमिच्छया *only*.

2. A[1] अटन् *for* चरन्. 3. BHLIA[2] तथा च सुयज्ञः मन्द्रया वाचा प्रातःसवनमिति.

4. B *has before this* गायत्रच्छन्दोऽस्याश्रयः.

5. BHL *omits* स्तुतिकर्मणः *and has* आच्छादनाच्छन्दः *for* आच्छादयति छन्दः.

6. BHLCA[2] *omit* °अनु. 7. A[2]L माध्यान्दिनं सवनभाजं.

सोदीर्णो मूर्ध्न्यभिहतो वक्त्रमापद्य मारुतः ।
॥6॥ वर्णाञ्जनयते तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ॥९॥
स्वरतः कालतः स्थानात् प्रयत्नानुप्रदानतः ।
॥7॥ इति वर्णविदः प्राहुर्निपुणं तं निबोधत ॥१०॥

सोदीर्ण इति । स वायुरुदीर्ण ऊर्ध्वगतो मूर्द्धानं यावदुपरितनां गतिम् अलभमानः शिरः-कपालेनावष्टब्धत्वात् पुनः प्रत्यावृत्य [1]वक्त्रमेवापद्य वर्णाञ्जनयते उत्पादयति । पुनर्मारुतग्रहणं विस्पष्टार्थम् । तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृत इति । तेषां वर्णानां जन्यमानानां विभागो विवेकः पञ्चधा पञ्चप्रकारः । 'संख्याया विधार्थे धा' (पा. ५.३.४२) इति धा । [2]स्मृतोऽनुगतः ॥९॥

कैर्हेतुभिस्तेषां वर्णानां [3]पञ्चधा विवेक इत्याह—

स्वरत इति । स्वस्थाने हेतून् व्याख्यास्यामः । [4]वर्णानां ज्ञातार एवमाहुः— पञ्चधा विवेको वर्णानाम् इति । [5]स्वरतः उदात्तादिभेदेन । कालो ह्रस्वादिः । स्थानं कण्ठादि । प्रयत्नो द्विधा (!) । अनुप्रदानं स्वस्थानादिकं घोषादि । अनु प्रकर्षेण दीयते इत्यनुप्रदानम् । 'द्वौ नाद[श्वासाव]नुप्रदानौ' इत्यौदव्रजिः । पञ्चधा विवेकं वर्णानां निपुणमुच्यमानं हे श्रोतारः, निबोधत शृणुत ॥

अत्र किञ्चिदुच्यते बालव्युत्पत्त्यर्थम् । ननु सर्वमेवैतदनुपपन्नम् । कथम् ? आत्मा बुद्ध्या सह अर्थान् समेत्य मनो युङ्क्त इति व्याख्यातम् । आत्मनश्च नियोजकभावो नोपपद्यते अकर्तृरूपत्वात् तस्य । तथा च श्रुतिः—'असङ्गो ह्ययं पुरुषः' (बृह. आ. ४.३.१५) इति, 'अस्थूलमनण्वह्रस्वमदीर्घम्'[6] (बृह. आ. ३.८.८) इत्यादिका च । भवता चैवमात्मस्वरूपं व्याख्यातम् । आत्मनश्च नियोजकभावे शरीरेन्द्रियमनोबुद्धिव्यतिरिक्त इति शरीरादिव्यतिरिक्त आत्मा मनो

1. HL वक्त्रमेवावपद्य ; B. °पद्य जनयति. 2. A¹ स्मृतोऽनुमतः.
3. A¹ *omits* पञ्चधा...इत्याह.
4. BI इति वर्णविदः प्राहु निपुणं तं निबोधत *before this*. H. *puts*. निबोधत *before this*.
5. BHL *omit* स्वरत उदात्तादि°......इत्यौदव्रजिः.
6. IA¹C *omit* °दीर्घं°.

युङ्क्ते इत्यनुपपन्नम्। उच्यते, अयमात्मा समर्थांर्थान्मनो युङ्क्ते इत्येतत् क्षेत्रज्ञाभिप्रायम्। क्षेत्रज्ञस्यै-[1]तदेव स्वरूपं यन्नियोजकत्वम्। तथा च मनुः[संहितायां]—

"योऽस्यात्मनः कारयिता तं क्षेत्रज्ञं प्रचक्षते।
यः करोति तु कर्माणि स भूतात्मोच्यते बुधैः॥
जीवसंज्ञोऽन्तरात्माऽन्यः सहजः सर्वदेहिनाम्।
येन वेदयते सर्वं सुखं दुःखं च जन्मसु॥
तावुभौ भूतसंपृक्तौ महान् क्षेत्रज्ञ एव च।
उच्चावचेषु भूतेषु स्थितं तं व्याप्य तिष्ठतः" ॥ (१२,१२-१४) इति।

तं व्याप्येति परमात्मानमाहुः। तथा च व्यासः [श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां]—
"द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके क्षरश्चाक्षर एव च।
क्षरः सर्वाणि भूतानि कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते॥
उत्तमः पुरुषस्त्वन्यः परमात्मेत्युदाहृतः।
यो लोकत्रयमाविश्य बिभर्त्यव्यय ईश्वरः" ॥ (१५, १६-१७)

ननु यद्यात्मा बुद्ध्या समर्थार्थान् इत्युदाहृतो यो नित्यः क्षेत्रज्ञ एवात्रात्माऽभिप्रेतो भवेत् ततः क्षेत्रज्ञे एव आत्मशब्दस्य चरितार्थत्वात् शरीरेन्द्रियमनोबुद्धिव्यतिरिक्तत्वं कतरस्माच्छब्दात् त्वया वर्णितं, किमर्थ च ? उच्यते, आत्मा बुद्ध्येत्यत्र द्वावप्यात्मानौ तौ क्षेत्रज्ञपरमात्माभिधेयरूपावभिप्रेतौ तन्त्रेणोच्चारितौ। तन्त्रेणोच्चारणं सूत्राणामलङ्कारः। एवं चेत् किमर्थं परमात्मनो वर्णनिमित्तत्वम् [2]उक्तम् ? तत्रोच्यते, अपवर्गसाधनोपकारत्वाच्छिक्षायाः। अपवर्गस्य चायमेवोपायः शरीरादिव्यतिरिक्तस्य परमात्मनो बोधः। [3]अनवबोधस्य तु बुद्ध्यादिभिरैक्यं भवति। किं तदपवर्गसाधनं यस्य शिक्षोपकारे वर्तते? उच्यते, वेदा यज्ञाश्च। तथा च श्रुतिः--"तमेतं वेदानुवचनेन विविदिषन्ति ब्रह्मचर्येण तपसा श्रद्धया यज्ञेनानाशकेन च" (बृह, आ, ४.४.२२) इति। वेदानुवचनं यज्ञगतमन्त्राङ्गत्वात् सम्यग्वर्णोच्चारणेन यस्मान्मोक्षमाप्नोति। वक्ष्यति च—'अतुलं च सुखं समश्नुते' इति। अतुलं सुखं मोक्ष एव भवति॥१०॥

1. C °स्य तदेव. 2. MSS. यदुक्तम्. 3. A[1] बुद्धे च.

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्रयः ।
॥8॥ ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति कालतो नियमा अचि ॥११॥
अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।
॥9॥ जिह्वामूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठौ च तालु च ॥१२॥

अलमतिप्रसङ्गेन । प्रकृतमनुसरामः—

उ दा त्त श्चा नु दा त्त श्चे ति । स्वरतः कालत इत्येतौ द्वौ हेतू श्लोके विवृणोति-स्वर उदात्तादिः । कालो मात्राप्रभृतित्रिमात्रपर्यन्तः । उदात्त इत्युपरिष्टात् परिगृहीतः, अनुदात्तस्तद्विपरीतः, अधस्ताद् गृहीत इत्यर्थः । स्वरित इति [1]न स्वरान्तरम् । स्वरतीति स्वरितः आक्षेपनिष्पाद्यः य उदात्तानुदात्तविकारः । तथा च नारदः—

"उच्चादुच्चतरं नास्ति नीचान्नीचतरं तथा ।
त्रैस्वर्ये स्वारसंज्ञायां किंस्थानः[2] स्वार उच्यते ॥
उच्चनीचस्थयोर्मध्ये साधारण इति श्रुतिः ।
तं स्वारं स्वारसंज्ञायां प्रतिजानन्ति शैक्षिकाः" ॥ (ना. शि. १.८.६-७)

स्व रा स्त्र य इति । [3]त्रय एव ऋग्यजुर्विषयाः[4]; पञ्च सप्त च सामसु । ह्रस्व एकमात्रो दीर्घो द्विमात्रः, प्लुतस्त्रिमात्रः । "निमेषकाला मात्रा स्यात्" इत्यौदव्रजिः, तथा च नारदः—

"निमेषकाला मात्रा स्याद्विद्युत्कालेति चापरे" (ना. शि. २.३.८) इति ।

इतिशब्दः प्रकारार्थः । अनेन प्रकारेण कालतः हेतोः स्वरतश्च विषयभाग-नियमः । तथा च नारदः—

"स्वर उच्चः स्वरो नीचः स्वरः स्वरित एव च ।
व्यञ्जनान्यनुवर्तन्ते[5] यत्र तिष्ठति स स्वरः ॥" (ना. शि. २.५.२) इति ॥११॥

1. B *omits* न.
2. A^1C स्वर ।
3. A^2 *read* षट् *after* पञ्च.
4. B. *puts stops after* विषयाः and सामसु.
5. A^1C °न्यव वर्त्तन्ते.

कण्ठ्यावहाविचुयशास्तालव्या ओष्ठजावुपू ।
॥11॥ स्युर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरषा दन्त्या लृतुलसाः स्मृताः ॥१३॥
जिह्वामूले तु कुः प्रोक्तो दन्त्योष्ठ्यो वः स्मृतो बुधैः ।
॥12॥ एऐ तु कण्ठतालव्या ओऔ कण्ठोष्ठजौ स्मृतौ ॥१४॥
अर्धमात्रा तु कण्ठस्य एकारैकारयोर्भवेत् ।
॥13॥ ऐकारौकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विवृतसंवृतम् ॥१५॥

स्थानत इति यदुक्तं तदाह—

क ण्ठ्या व हा वि ति । [1]कण्ठ्यावहौ अकारहकारौ कण्ठ्यौ[2] कण्ठतो जातौ । इ चु य शाः तालव्याः [3]इकारश्च चवर्गश्च यकारशकारौ च एते तालव्याः तालुस्थाने भवाः । चु इत्युकारानुबन्धो वर्गं ज्ञापयति । वर्गादावन्यत्रापि कुचुटुतुपु इत्येवमादिषु उकारः [4]पञ्चवर्णपरिग्रहणार्थः । तथा च पाणिनिः—"अणुदित् सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः" (पा. १.१.६८) इति । औदव्रजिरपि "[5]स्पर्शे वर्गस्य, स्पर्शग्रहणे च ज्ञेयं वर्गस्य ग्रहणं [6]स्थानेष्वित्यधिकारः" इति । ओ ष्ठ जा वु पू उकारः पवर्गश्च ओष्ठयोर्जातौ । स्यु र्मू र्ध न्या ऋ टु र षा इति । ऋकारः टवर्गश्च [7]रेफषकारौ च मूर्द्धन्या भवेयुः । द न्त्या लृ तु ल सा इति । लृकारस्तवर्गश्च लकारसकारौ च दन्तेषु भवाः[8] ॥१३॥

जि ह्वा मू ले इति । कवर्गस्तु जिह्वामूले कथितः । द न्त्यो ष्ठ्यो वः स्मृ तो बु धै रिति । वकारो [9]दन्तोष्ठयोर्भवतीति पण्डितैः स्मर्यते । ए ऐ तु क ण्ठ-ता ल व्या इति । एकार ऐकारश्च कण्ठतालुतो जातौ । ओ औ क ण्ठो ष्ठ जौ स्मृताविति । [10]ओकारः औकारश्च कण्ठोष्ठयोर्जातौ ॥१४॥

1, A² *omits*. 2. A¹ *omits*. 3. A¹A² इकारः C कण्ठ्यौ.

4. BLA² *omit* पञ्चवर्णपरिग्रहणार्थः.

5. MSS. स्पर्शवर्गस्य स्पर्शग्रहणे च ज्ञेयं वर्गस्य ग्रहणं...°कार इति ।

6. L स्थानेष्वधिकारः, A¹ स्थानेष्वित्यकारः.

7. B. *omit* रेफषकारौ......इति । लृकार. 8. A¹ भावः.

9. BHIL दद्भ्यः (BH दन्तेभ्यः) ओष्ठाभ्यां च जातो भवतीति. A² दन्त्योष्ठ्यो.

10. H औकारश्च, C ओकारश्चौ°.

अनुस्वारयमानां च नासिका स्थानमुच्यते ।
॥14॥ उपध्मानीय ऊष्मा च जिह्वामूलीयनासिके
अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभाजिनः ॥१६॥
॥15॥ अलाबुवीणानिर्घोषो दन्तमूल्यः स्वराननु ।
अनुस्वारस्तु कर्तव्यो नित्यं ह्रोः शषसेषु च ॥१७॥

अ र्द्ध मा त्रा इति। अर्द्धमात्रा तु [1]कण्ठ्यस्य भवति। कयोः? [2]एकारस्य ओकारस्य च। सवर्णग्राहकत्वात् [3]एकारश्च ओकारश्च द्वावपि गृह्येते। अतश्चतुर्णामपि सन्ध्यक्षराणामर्द्धमात्रा[4] कण्ठसंबन्धिनी भवेत्। [5]अध्यर्द्धास्ताल्वोष्ठस्थानाः ॥१५॥

अ यो गे ति। अयोगवाहा इत्यनुस्वारादयश्चत्वार उच्यन्ते। अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च ⨯ क ⨯ पौ च कण्ठ्यौ। तथा च औदव्रजिः—'अयोगवाहाः, अः इति विसर्जनीयः, ⨯ क इति जिह्वामूलीयः, ⨯ प इत्युपध्मानीयः' [6]अं इत्यनुस्वारः नासिक्यः, इत्ययोगवाहाः। न विद्यते योगः संयोगो वर्णान्तरेण[7] येषां ते अयोगवाहाः। [8]आश्रयस्थानभाजिन इति। [9]आश्रयस्य ककारादेः स्थानं भाजितुं शीलं येषां ते आश्रयस्थानभाजिनः। अन्ये तु यमानप्ययोगवाहान्मन्यन्ते। तेषां मतेन अयोगवाहशब्दः प्रत्यस्तमितावयवो रूढिशब्दोऽश्वकर्णवद्वेदितव्यः। अनुस्वारस्य स्वरूपमाह—अनुस्वारस्य प्रकृतिः पाणिनिनैव कथिता "मोऽनुस्वारः" (पा. ८.३.२३) इति ॥१६॥

अ ला वि ति। अलाबुस्तुम्बी, [10]तस्या वीणाया इव निर्घोषः शब्दो यस्य सोऽलाबुवीणानिर्घोषः। स्थानं दन्तमूलं तत्र भवो [11]दन्तमूल्यः। स्वरान्

1. H. कण्ठास्येकारौकारयोर्भवेत् अर्धमात्रा कण्ठ्यस्य भवति। कयोः,
2. CA^{1} एकारस्यौकारस्य। A^{3} एकारस्य ओकारस्य.
3. A^{2} एकार ओकारस्य. B. स्य° ओकारस्य। 4. A^{2} कण्ठ्य A^{3} *omits.*
5. H अर्धा ताल्वो°, B °र्धा ताल्वो I अध्यर्धे तु स्वे स्वे स्थाने.
6. I A^{3} अं इत्यनुस्वारोऽनुनासिकः। A^{2} अनुस्वारः नासिक.
7. HLB *put* सह *after this.* 8. A^{2} °भाविन.
9. A^{2} *omits* आश्रयस्य······भाजिनः.
10. L अलाबुयुक्तवीणाया *and* H अलाबु तु वीणाया A^{1} यस्याऽसावलाबुवीणाया *for* तस्या वीणाया.
11. A^{3} L दन्त्यमूल्यः.

॥16॥ अचोऽस्पृष्टा यणस्त्वीषन्नेमस्पृष्टाः शरस्तथा ।
शेषाः स्पृष्टा हलः प्रोक्ता निबोधानुप्रदानतः ॥१८॥
॥17॥ ञमोऽनुनासिकानह्नौ नादिनो हझषः स्मृताः ।
ईषन्नादा यणजशस्तु श्वासिनस्तु खफादयः

अकारादीन् अनु भवतीति शेषः । हकाररेफयोः शषसेषु[1] च सदा भवति । तथा च नारदः—

"आपद्यते मकारो रेफोष्मसु[2]प्रत्ययेष्वनुस्वारम् ।
यवलेषु परसवर्णं स्पर्शेषु चोत्तमापत्तिम्" (ना. शि. २.४.४) इति ॥१७॥

अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा । जिह्वामूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठौ च तालु च" इति । इमं श्लोकमनुवादरूपं केचित् पठन्ति ॥

स्वरतः कालतः स्थानतो वर्णानां भेदः कथितोऽधुना प्रयत्नतो भेदः कथ्यते । प्र क र्षे ण यत्नो वर्णोच्चारणं प्रति अस्पृष्टादिभिः स प्रयत्नः[3] ।

अ जि ति । अजिति प्रत्याहारग्रहणम् । अ इ उ ऋ ऌ ए ओ ऐ औ [4]च् एते अस्पृष्टाः । यणः य व र ला एते ईषत्स्पृष्टाः । [5]श रि ति प्रत्याहारग्रहणम्, शषसा एते नेमस्पृष्टाः [6]अर्द्धस्पृष्टा इत्यर्थः तथेति पादपूरणार्थः । शे षाः स्पृ ष्टा ह लः प्रो क्ता इति । हल् इति प्रत्याहारग्रहणं हकारादारभ्य आ लकारात् । शेष इत्युक्तादन्यः शेषः । यणः शरश्च ईषन्नेमस्पृष्टास्तद्वर्जिताः हलः स्पृष्टाः, स्वस्थानैः कथिताः । नि बो धा नु प्र दा न त इति । अनुप्रदानमिति स्वस्थानादिकं घोषादि अनु प्रकर्षेण दीयते इति अनुप्रदानम् । "[7]द्वौ नाद-[श्वासाव]नुप्रदानौ" इत्यौदव्रजिः । अनुप्रदानतो हेतोः[8] वर्णानां भेदं शृणु ॥१८॥

ञ मि ति प्रत्याहारग्रहणं ञ म ङ ण न म् । अ नु ना सि का इति स्वस्थानैरधिकाः [9]अनु पाठात् नासिकामनुभवन्तीति अनुनासिका ञमङणनमः

1. A²A³ *omit.* 2. A¹ प्रत्ययेऽप्यनु°.

3. BBL *read after this* ऊष्मणां च स्वराणां च विवृतं करणं स्मृतम् । तेभ्योऽपि (ततोऽपि विवृतावेङौ ताभ्यामैचौ तथैव च ; स्पष्टं *only in* H).

4. HL *omit* च्. 5. H *omits* शरिति......नेमस्पृष्टाः. 6. L अर्धं स्पृष्टा.

7. A¹A² *omit up to* इत्यौदव्रजिः MSS. द्वौ नादानुप्रदानौ. (I °प्रदानम्).

8. B *omits* हेतोः. 9. A¹C अनुपाठाः.

*

॥18॥ ईषच्छ्वासांश्चरो विद्याद्गोर्धामैतत् प्रचक्षते ॥१९॥

अनुनासिकानिमान् जानीयात्। तथा च पाणिनिः—'मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः' (पा. १.१.८) इति। अ र्हौ इति। अकारो रेफश्च हकारो झषश्च, प्रत्याहारग्रहणं झष् इति झ भ घ ढ ध ष्, एते ह्रादयो नादिनः स्मर्यन्ते। नाद एषामस्तीति नादिनः। अपरः पाठः—अ मो ऽनु ना सि का न र्हौ। अम् इति प्रत्याहार-ग्रहणम्। अ इ उ ऋ ऌ ए ओ ऐ औ ह य व र ल ञ म ङ ण न म् एते अनु-नासिकाः। न र्हौ न तु रेफहकारौ अमावपि सन्तौ। ना दि नो ह झ षः स्मृताः। हकारो झषश्च नादिनः झष् झ भ घ ढ ध ष्। अस्यार्थः,[1] पाठद्वयात् अमां [2]हकाररेफवर्जितानां विकल्पेनानुनासिकत्वम्, ञमां तु नित्यम्। तथा च शौनकः—"सचादयो या विहिता विवृत्तयः प्लुतोपधान्ता अनुनासिकोपधाः" (ऋ, प्रा. २.३२) इति। तथा "उकारश्चेति करणे युक्तो रक्तः पृक्तो द्राघितः शाकलेन" (ऋ. प्रा. १.२८) इति। अकाररेफयोः प्रथमे पाठे नादित्वम्, द्वितीये पाठे हकाररेफयोर्नासिकत्वप्रतिषेधः। ई ष न्ना दा य ण् ज श्च्वि ति। यणः कथिताः। जशस्तु जकाराद्याः शकारेण प्रत्याहारः ज ब ग ड द श् एते यण् जशश्च ईषन्मनाक् नादाः। श्वा सि न स्तु ख फा द य इति। खफछठथाः एते श्वासिनः श्वास एषामस्तीति श्वासिनः। "[3]श्वासोऽघोषाणां [द्वि]तीयप्रथमानाम्, [नादो] घोषाणां चतुर्थ-[तृतीया]नाम्, युग्मा सोष्माणः", इति चौदव्रजिः ॥१८॥

ई ष च्छ्वा सां श्च रो वि द्या दिति। चर् इति प्रत्याहारग्रहणं च ट त क प श ष स र् [4]इत्येतन्नामकान् ईषच्छ्वासान् जानीयात्। गो र्धा मै त त्प्र-च क्ष त इति। गोर्वाचः धाम स्थानम् एतच्छास्त्रमाचक्षते वर्णविदः शास्त्रानु-पूर्व्यमिति य उक्ताः ॥२०॥

1. A² अस्यार्थं.   2. HB *omit* कार *after* ह

3. IHB श्वासो घोषाणां तृतीयात्। प्रथमानाम् (°नामुभावघोष° A²) घोषश्चतुर्थानाम्। युग्माः; IH. °श्चतुर्थानायुग्मा सोष्माण इति.

4. A¹C ऐतन्नाम°.

*मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा
मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति
यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥२०॥
*शङ्करः शाङ्करीं प्रादाद्दाक्षीपुत्राय धीमते ।
वाङ्मयेभ्यः समाहृत्य देवीं वाचमिति स्थितिः ॥२१॥
*येनाक्षरसमाम्नायमधिगम्य महेश्वरात् ।
कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥२२॥

[1]अथ मन्त्र-व्यत्यासलक्षणमाह—

मन्त्रः मननान्मन्त्रः स्वरतः उदात्तादिभेदतः वर्णतः त्रिषष्टिरित्यादिभेदतः मिथ्याप्रयुक्तः यः स्वरो यो वर्णस्तमन्यात्वेव प्रयुक्तः न तमर्थमाह तस्यार्थं न वेद । स ईदृशो मन्त्रो वाग्रूपो वज्रसमो यजमानं हिनस्ति । तत्र दृष्टान्तमाह—यथा स्वरतोऽपराधाद् इन्द्र एव[2] शत्रुहन्ताऽभूदिति ॥२०॥

इदानीं गुरुपूर्वक्रममाह—

शङ्कर इति । शङ्करः [3]शं सुखं करोतीति शंकरः सुखकरः शांकरीं सुखकरीं विद्यां दाक्षीपुत्राय ऋषये दाक्षीनाम्नी ऋषिकन्या तत्पुत्राय धीमते बुद्धिमते प्रादाद्दत्तवान् ॥२१॥

सम्प्रति पाणिनिस्तुतिपरं श्लोकमाह—

येनेति । नन्वप्रकृतं स्तुतिपूर्वकं पाणिनेर्नमस्कारकरणं किमर्थम्? उच्यते, अचोऽस्पृष्टा यणस्त्वीषदिति प्रत्याहारैः शिक्षा ग्रथिता प्रत्याहाराश्च पाणिनिना शंकरादधिगम्य कृत्स्नं समग्रं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं शिष्योपकाराय स्वप्रत्याहारा लोके प्रवर्तिताः तदर्था स्तुतिः । अक्षरसमाम्नायमिति प्रत्याहारानाह:, ऋज्वन्यत् ॥२२॥

1. PHLB *omit* अथ मन्त्रव्यत्यास......शत्रुहन्ताऽभूदिति ; A[1] *omits* अथ मन्त्रव्यत्यास, etc. *but puts it after* बुद्धिमते प्रादात्.

2. A[1] *omits* एव.

3. HL *omit* शं सुखं···शङ्करः.

*त्रिनयनमुखनिःसृतामिमां
य इह पठेत् प्रयतः सदा द्विजः ।
स भवति धनधान्यपशुकीर्ति-
मानतुलं सुखमश्नुतेऽमुत्र ॥२३॥

[1]भगवतः शिक्षायाश्च साक्षात् स्तुतिपरं श्लोकमाह—

त्रि न य ने ति । वैतालीयं छन्दोऽस्य, अन्येषामनुष्टुप् छन्दोऽस्ति । [2]त्रिनयनः शिवस्तस्य मुखान्निःसृता यथा गुहायाः सिंहो निष्क्रामति तथा निःसृता एतावता त्रिनयनेनापि न कृतेत्यर्थः । तां यो द्विजः पठेदधीयीत स [इह] धनादिभिर्युज्यते सुखमतुलं [3]परमानन्दं च मोक्षम् उक्तप्रकारेण अश्नुते प्राप्नोति [4]अमुत्रामुष्मिन् लोके । [आदौ] धनधान्यपशुकीर्तिभाग् भवत्यन्ते मुक्तिभाक् । अन्यदवान्तरफलानि स्वर्गादीनि परिमितकालत्वात् तोलयितुं [5]शक्यन्ते, मोक्षाख्यं तु अपरिमित-कालावच्छिन्नं सुखरूपमित्यर्थः ॥२३॥

[6]इति वेदाङ्गशिक्षा-पञ्जिका समाप्ता ।

1. BH *omit* भगवतः शिक्षायाश्च.

2. B त्रिनयनमुखनिःसृता *and* H त्रिनयनमुखान्निःसृता for त्रिनयनः...निःसृता.

3. A[1]C परमानन्द-लक्षण°.

4. BMA. अन्यत्रा°; IHL *omit* अन्यत्रामुष्मिन्...फलानि.

5. A[1] शक्यानि । मोक्षस्तु परिमितकालावच्छिन्नपरमानन्दसुखरूपः सोऽध्ययनाद्यथोक्तात् सुलभ एवेति.

6. MBHL इति पाणिनीय-शिक्षा-व्याख्या समाप्ता । (B यादृशं पुस्तकं दृष्टा ; तादृशं लिखितं मया । यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दोषो न विद्यते ॥ श्लोकसंख्या १९८ ॥ समाप्तः) संवत् १८६५ दिवसे लिषितं L संवत् १८४३ पिंगलाब्दे जेष्ठे द्वितीयायां श्रीकाश्यां दुण्ढविनायक-सन्निधौ भक्तोपनाम्ना गोविन्देन लिखितं । श्रीविश्वेश्वरार्पणमस्तु ॥ श्रीः । A[1] *after* समाप्ता, पञ्जिका पदभञ्जिकेति विश्वप्रकाशे ॥ इदं पुस्तकं खनगणोपनाम्ना जीवरामभट्टात्मजव्यंकटेशेन लिखितं स्वार्थं परार्थं च ॥ भं ॥ लेखकपाठकयोर्भूयात् । साम्बसदाशिवार्पणमस्तु ॥ संवत् १८२८ ज्येष्ठ शु १२ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ I इति शिक्षापञ्जिका समाप्ता &c. A[2] इति शिक्षायाः पञ्जिका समाप्ता । संवत् १८०० वर्ष आसुनी सुदी २ वार वीश्रैकी लिखा ॥ सुभमस्तु ॥

॥४॥

IV. शिक्षाप्रकाश-सहिता (With the Śikṣā-prakāśa)

* अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामि पाणिनीयं मतं यथा ।
शास्त्रानुपूर्वं तद्विद्याद् यथोक्तं लोकवेदयोः ॥१॥

ज्योतिर्व्याकरणं छन्दः कल्पशिक्षानिरुक्तयः ।
नेत्रास्य-पद्दोर्नः[1]-कर्णा यस्य तं सततं नुमः ॥
व्याख्याय पिङ्गलाचार्यसूत्राण्यादौ यथायथम् ।
शिक्षां तदीयां व्याख्यास्ये पाणिनीयानुसारिणीम् ॥

ज्येष्ठभ्रातृभिर्विहिते व्याकरणेऽनुजस्तत्र भगवान् पिङ्गलाचार्यस्तन्मतमनुभाव्य[2] शिक्षां वक्तुं प्रतिजानीते—

अथ शिक्षामिति। वैदिकधर्म्मानुष्ठानात् पुरुषो निःश्रेयसार्थफलवान् इत्येष वैदिकः सिद्धान्तः। अतिगूढार्थस्य वेदस्याज्ञानान्नानुष्ठातुं शक्यो वेदमार्गः। अतः साक्षात्-कृतधर्म्मभिर्वेदार्थेभ्यो निष्कृष्यार्थार्थिसुखबोधाय विद्यास्थानानि प्रवर्तितानि। तानि शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं छन्दो ज्योतिषं धर्म्मशास्त्रं पुराणं न्यायविस्तरो मीमांसादीनि। तथा च याज्ञवल्क्यः "पुराणन्यायमीमांसा-धर्म्मशास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिताः। वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश" [3]इति। तथा हि[4]—शिक्षा स्वरवर्णोच्चारकं शास्त्रम्। कल्पो वेदविहितकर्मणाम् आनुपूर्व्येण कल्पनाशास्त्रम्। व्याकरणं शब्दबोधकम् अस्लेच्छत्वकारकं शास्त्रम्। निरुक्तं पदविभाग-मन्त्रार्थ-देवता-निरूपणार्थं शास्त्रम्। छन्दो गायत्र्यादिच्छन्दसां ज्ञानशास्त्रम्। [ज्योतिषं कालपरिज्ञानार्थं शास्त्रम्। धर्मशास्त्रम् आचाराद्युपदेशकं शास्त्रम्।] पुराणं स्थित्युत्पत्ति-प्रलयादिसूचकं शास्त्रम्। न्यायविस्तरः प्रमाणैरर्थपरीक्षाशास्त्रम्। मीमांसा वेद-वाक्यार्थविचारशास्त्रम् इति। तावच्छिक्षायां यथोदितस्वरवर्णोच्चारणम्।

1. Be. पद्दोर्नः. 2. L वाद्य for °भाव्य. 3 MSS. इति च. 4. Be. *omits* हि.

* प्रसिद्धमपि शब्दार्थमविज्ञातमबुद्धिभिः ।
पुनर्व्यक्तीकरिष्यामि वाच उच्चारणे विधिम् ॥२॥

अज्ञाने प्रत्यवायस्मरणात् । यतः 'मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह । स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात्' इति । अत्यावश्यकज्ञातव्यत्वे बृहद्देवतायां शौनकः "स्वरो वर्णोऽक्षरं मात्रा विनियोगार्थमेव[1] च । मन्त्रं जिज्ञासमानेन वेदितव्यं पदे पदे" इति । अङ्गिनो नित्यत्वम् उत्सर्गतः सिद्धम् । ग्रन्थादौ मङ्गलप्रयोगादथशब्दो मङ्गलार्थं[2] आनन्तर्यार्थो वा । व्याकरणाध्ययनानन्तरं चतुर्भिर्वाचःपदैः परा-पश्यन्ती-मध्यमा-वैखरी-संज्ञैरात्मनो वर्णोत्पत्तिज्ञापकं कियत्तदनुवादरूपं [3]शिक्षाध्यय[न]म् । शिक्ष्यतेऽनया बालेभ्यो ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतोदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितोरःकण्ठशिरोजिह्वामूलदन्तनासौष्ठस्थानानि यथा तां यथा पाणिनेरिदं "वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम्" इति (पा.१.१.७३) वृद्धसंज्ञाया "वृद्धाच्छः" (पा.४.२.११४) तस्य "आयनेये"(पा.७.१.२)त्यादिनेयादेशः, पाणिनीयं मतं तथा प्रोच्चारयिष्यामि । न तु तन्मतं शास्त्रादिविरोधि भविष्यतीत्याह य थो क्त मि ति । तद् यथा लोकवेदयोः शरीरकर्तृकश्रुत्योरुक्तं शास्त्रानुपूर्वं गुरुपरम्पराप्राप्तं जानीयात् । 'शङ्करः शाङ्करीं प्रादाद्' इति तदुपरिष्टाद् व्याख्यास्यामः । "य एव[4] लौकिकाः [5]शब्दास्त एव [6]वैदिकास्त एव तेषामर्थाः" इति, महाभाष्ये[7] । 'एको वर्णः सम्यग् ज्ञातः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग् भवति' इति प्रयोजनम् । एतज्ज्ञानाभिलाषुका अधिकारिणः । व्याकरणे तु गोशब्दो गातेर्डो सन्तोऽत्र जिह्वामूलकण्ठोष्ठजातो गोवर्ण इति विभेदाच्छिक्षारम्भ इति । अत्रानुष्टुप्छन्दसि विषमं चेत्यधिकृत्यावान्तरं वक्त्राधिकारे पथ्यावक्त्रं श्लोकवृत्तम् । "पादस्यानुष्टुब्वक्त्रम्", (पि.५.८) । "न प्रथमात् स्नौ" (पि.५.१०) "वाऽन्यत्" (पि.५.१२) "य चतुर्थात्" (पि.५.१३) "पथ्या युजोज" (पि.५.१४) । युग्म-पादस्य चतुर्थाद्वर्णाज्जगणोऽवश्यं चेत् इति लक्षणात् । 'उदात्ते निषादगान्धाराविं'त्यत्र प्रथमो भुरिक् अनुष्टुप्पादः । द्वितीयः स्वराट्[8] अनुष्टुप्पादः । उत्तरार्धं पूर्ववत् । "ऊनाधिकेनैकेन निचृद्भुरिजौ, द्वाभ्यां विराट्स्वराजौ" (पि.३.५८-६०) इति लक्षणसूत्रात् ॥१॥

1. L °योगार्थमेव. 2. Be. मङ्गलार्थऽआन°. 3. LBe. शिक्षाध्यायं.
4. Be. यऽएव. 5. L स एव for शब्दा स्त एव. 6. L वैदिकाः त एव.
7. L °भाष्यं. 8. Be. स्वर्णोऽनुष्टुप्पादः for स्वराट् अनुष्टुप्पादः.

* त्रिषष्टिश्चतुःषष्टिर्वा वर्णाः सम्भवतो मताः ।
प्राकृते संस्कृते चापि स्वयं प्रोक्ताः स्वयम्भुवा ॥३॥
स्वरा विंशतिरेकश्च स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंशतिः ।
॥1॥ यादयश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टौ चत्वारश्च यमाः स्मृताः ॥४॥

सुबुद्धीनाम् आदिवर्णोच्चारात् कण्ठादिस्थानज्ञानं भविष्यति । किमर्थोऽयम् आरम्भ इत्याशङ्क्याह—प्र सि द्ध मि ति । पाणिन्यादिभिः प्रसिद्धीकृतम् असांप्रतदर्शिभिरविज्ञातम् अव्यक्तं व्यक्तीकरिष्यामि । वाचो वर्णजातस्य उच्चारणे उद्गिरणे [1]विधिः विधानम् ; अत्यन्ताप्राप्तौ विधिः, स चात्र प्रयत्नानुप्रदानादौ ज्ञेयः ; तम् ॥२॥

[तत्रादौ] तावदुच्चारणादिज्ञानाय वर्णान् संख्याति त्रि ष ष्टि रि ति । प्रकृतिः संस्कृतं तत्र भवं तस्मिन् प्रा कृ ते शूरसेन्यादौ[2] सं स्कृ ते [यत्] प्रकृतिप्रत्ययादिविभागैः संस्कारमापादितं[3] तस्मिन् गोर्वाणवाण्याम्, त्रिभिरधिका षष्टिः अथवा चतुर्भिरधिका षष्टिर्वर्णाः स्वयम्भुवा प्रोक्ताः प्रोदिताः स्थानप्रयत्नानुप्रदानकालैः सम्भवतः सम्भूतेराजान[तः][4] मता ज्ञाताः ॥३॥

ताननुक्रमेण गणयन् दर्शयति स्व रा इति । अचां स्वरा इति[5] प्राचां संज्ञा । [6]स्वरतेः शब्दार्थस्य करणेऽच् । विंशतिः एकश्च । ते अकारकारावि उ ए ओ ऐ औ एते ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतभेदतः[7] "ऊकालोज्ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः (पा. १.२.२७)" इत्यनेन एकद्वित्रिमात्रा एव उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरिता इति प्रत्येकं त्रिविधधर्मास्तुल्यकाला ऋऌकारयुक्ता एकविंशतिसंख्यापूरकाः, यथा अ१ आ२ आ३[8] इ१ ई२ ई३ उ१ ऊ२ ऊ३ ऋ१ ॠ२ ॠ३ एते चत्वारस्त्रिगुणिताः द्वादश । एचां[9] ह्रस्वाभावाद् दीर्घत्वं प्लुतत्वं [च,] यथा ए२ ए३ ओ२ ओ३ ऐ२ ऐ३ औ२ औ३ एते अष्टौ[10] । ऌवर्णो न दीर्घ इति स्मरणात् ह्रस्व एकः । अत्रोदात्तादिधर्मा अच्येव, उदात्तश्चैतेन व्याख्यातः । "[11]स्वर उच्चः स्वरो नीचः स्वरः स्वरित एव च । व्यञ्जनान्यनुवर्तन्ते यत्र तिष्ठति स स्वरः" (२. ५. २) इति नारदः । तत्रोदात्ते विनिषीदन्ति सर्वेऽस्मिन् स्वरा इति निषादः, [12]नसा गन्धवहो वायुर्नाभेः शीर्षगो

1. MSS. विधिं. 2. L सूरसेन्यादौ. 3. Be. °दिते. 4. MSS. °राजन्.
5. Be. omits अचां स्वरा इति. 6. MSS. स्वर्यते:. 7. Be. भेदिता.
8. L puts ऋ, ॠ२, ॠ३ after this. 9. Be. चरा for एच्. 10. L एतेष्टौ.
11. MSS. उच्चस्वरो नीचस्वरः. 12. MSS. नाना.

यस्य उच्चारणे अथवा यस्मिन् प्रगीते गावस्तुष्यन्तीति गान्धारः तौ। [1]अनुदात्ते नाभेः कण्ठशीर्षसमाहतौ ऋषभवन्नर्दतीति ऋषभः, षडपि स्वरानतिक्रम्य सन्धीयते इति धैवतः तौ। एते वक्ष्यमाणा हि स्वरितोद्भवाः। [षड्भ्यो]नासाकण्ठोरस्तालुजिह्वादन्तेभ्यो जातः षड्जः, नाभ्युरोहृत्कण्ठशिरोभ्यो जातः गणनया पञ्चमसङ्ख्यापूरक इति वा पञ्चमः। [2]हृदुरः समाश्रितो नाभिं प्राप्तः स [3]मध्यमः; ते उदात्तादिभ्य एव, एषां प्राधान्यभेदेनोदात्तो[4] व्याख्यातः॥ स्प र्शा नां प ञ्च विं श तिः — पञ्चभिरधिका विंशतिः स्पृष्टानुप्रदान(!)-धर्मत्वात् स्पर्शाः तेषां संख्या। तेषां पञ्च वर्गाः कु चु टु तु पुः। च पुनः यादयोऽष्टौ स्मृताः ते य र ल व ह श ष साः। स्वरा अस्पृष्टप्रयत्नाः यरलवास्तु किञ्चित्स्पृष्टाः, शषसहा अर्द्धस्पृष्टाः[5] "त्वो नेम-इत्यर्धस्य" (नि. ३.२०) इति यास्कः। शेषा हलोऽनुक्ताः स्पृष्टा आचार्यैः प्रोक्तास्ते स्पर्शाः स्पृष्टप्रयत्नाः, च पुनश्चत्वारो यमाः कुँ खुँ गुँ घुँ इति[6]। "अथानन्त्याश्चत्वारस्ते सयमाः ते[7] कुँ खुँ गुँ घुँ इति अनन्त्य[[8]न्त्ये-]संयोगेऽ[न]न्त्यपूर्वेऽन्त्योत्तरे व्यवधानवर्जिते तत्र यमा वर्तन्ते न सन्देह इति[9] (गौ. शि. २)। "अनन्तसंयोगे मध्ये यमः पूर्वगुणः" इत्यौदव्रजिरपि, नारदश्च—"अनन्त्यश्च भवेत् पूर्वो ह्यन्तश्च परतो यदि। तत्र मध्ये यमस्तिष्ठेत् सवर्णः पूर्ववर्णयोः। वर्गान्त्याञ् शषसैः सार्धमन्तःस्थैश्चापि संयुतान्। दृष्ट्वा यमा निवर्तन्ते आदेशिकमिवाध्वगाः" (ना. शि. २.२. ८-९) इति। अयमपि वर्णागमो विधीयतेऽस्माच्छास्त्रात्। च त्वा र श्च य मा इति वर्णान्तरत्वेनोपदेशः संयोगशास्त्रात्। तत्र संयोगस्त्रिविधो गौतमेन दर्शितः। "अथ त्रिविधः संयोगपिण्डो भवत्ययस्पिण्डो दारुपिण्डस्तथोर्णापिण्डश्चेति। यमसहितमयस्पिण्डं दारुपिण्डमन्तःस्थैर्युक्तं यमान्तःस्थवर्जं तूर्णापिण्डमिति। अन्तःस्थयमसंयोगे विशेषो नोपलभ्यते इति च। अशरीरं यमं विद्याद्विशेषः पिण्डनायकः" (गौ. शि. १) इति च। [10]यथा पलिक्क्नीति ककाररूपः पूर्ववर्णसवर्णो यथासङ्ख्यः प्रथमस्तकारस्तेनायं वर्णक्रमः ककारयम[:] ककाररूप[:] तकारनकारईकारा अन्तर्व[त्]न्नी पलि[क्]क्नीत्यादि[11] चख्ख्नतुरित्यत्र[12] खकाररूपः। अग्नि (अग्ग्नि ?)रित्यत्र गकाररूपः। ज[घ्]घ्नतुरित्यत्र घकाररूपः। यज्ञ (यग्ज्ञ ?) इत्यत्र जगञाः

1. L अनुदात्तौ. 2. MSS. हृदुदरः. 3. Be. मध्यमस्ते. 4. Be. °भेदेनोदात्तो.
5. Be. omits शषसहा अर्द्धस्पृष्टाः. 6. L घुमिति. 7. L यमास्ते.
8. Be. इत्यन्त. 9. L adds गौतमः. 10. This passage is very corrupt.
11. Be. अन्तर्वत्नक्नीत्यादि. 12. Be. चरख्ख्न° or चख्ख्न°।

अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च ×क ⌒पौ चापि पराश्रितौ ।
॥2॥ दुःस्पृष्टश्चेति विज्ञेयो लृकारः प्लुत एव च ॥५॥

(गजञाः १)। अत्र चवर्गतृतीयो जस्तस्य संख्यातवर्णो गुंकारसमावेशः। वर्णक्रमे यकार-जकार-पूर्ववर्णवर्गसङ्ख्य-सवर्णयमगकार-जकाराः। वर्गान्त्यानिति किम्? उदङ्ग्रक्। अन्तःस्थैरिति किम्? कार्षन्, ऋत्त्यु ॥४॥

अ नु स्वा र इति। "मोऽनुस्वारः" (पा. ८.३.२३) स्वारम् अनु भवतीत्यनुस्वारः। विविधं सृज्यत इति विसर्ग ऊष्मापरसंज्ञः तौ। अ ला बु न तुम्बीफलस्य या वी णा तन्निर्घोषो दन्तमूल्यो दन्तमूलस्थानीयः, स्वरान् अकारादीन् अनु लक्ष्यीकृत्य प्राप्तोऽन्वर्थसंज्ञ। स्वरानुगतो यथा तथा 'नित्यं ङ्णोः शषसेषु' प्रत्येकं परेषु कर्तव्यः। नारदोऽपि –"आपद्यते मकारो रेफोष्मप्रत्ययेष्वनुस्वारम्। यवलेषु परसवर्णं स्पर्शेषु परेषु चोत्तमापत्तिम्" (ना. शि २.४.४)। अनुस्वारद्वयग्रहणं चतुःषष्टिसङ्ख्यामास्कन्दति अनुस्वारौ[1] विसर्गश्चेति पाठात्। स च यथा सुराष्ट्रदेशजाता स्त्री सानुनासिकं रंगम् अराँ इति वाद्यमानकांस्यपात्रशब्दानुकारिणम्[2] अभिवदति तद्वत् रङ्गं द्वितीयम् अनुस्वारं जानीयात्। लौकिकं प्रदर्श्य मन्त्रवर्णोदाहरणम् आह "खे अराँ इव खेदये"ति। अचि नियमत्वाद् अनुस्वारोऽत्तु गणितो विकल्पाद[न]त्तु ज्ञेयम्। तथा "अनुस्वारो व्यञ्जनं वा स्वरो वा" (१.११) इति ऋक्पार्षदे शौनकोक्तिः। दृश्यते च "हंसः शुचिषत्" (ऋक्. ४.४०.५) "सोमानं स्वरणम्" (ऋक्. १.१८.१) इत्यादावुदात्तत्वमिति। विसर्गस्य अष्टविधा गतिः। ओकारभावः[3] पुरोहितम्, यदि कदाचिद्दूषणो विसर्गाद् अन्यद् विसर्गाद् विना ओभावप्रसन्धानं[4] गुणकृत्यम् ऊष्मणस्तु सत्वकत्वौत्वगुणत्वेऽति परे[5] (?) ओत्वम् अतोषणो[6] भावात् केवलं गुणवत्त्वे उभयोरुदाहरणयोः सादृश्यं[7] चिन्त्यते। उकार आदिर्यस्य तत् [8]परे यस्य तत्तादृशं स्वरान्तं ओभावान्तं ज्ञेयं व्यक्तम्[9]। त्वोतः। प्रोतः। अतोकारान्तं स्वरान्तं तत्र विसर्गान्तमिति। अत एव पदकालेऽवग्रहः। वि वृ त्ति विवृत्तिभावः। य इन्द्र[:]। [शषसा] शषसानां भावः। रे फ एव च रकारभावः। [10]दुश्शंस[:]। निष्षहमाणः[11]। अपास्सोमं। उषर्व-

1. Bc. अनुस्वारो. 2. L कांस°, Bc. कंस°. 3. Bc. उकारभावः.
4. Bc. °प्रसन्धाने. 5. L पर. 6. Bc. उत्तमतो°. 7. MSS. सादृश्ये.
8. MSS. पदं. 9. MSS. वक्ताव्यं. 10. L दुःश (ट?)° 11. Bc. निष्यहमाणः.

आत्मा बुद्ध्या समेत्यार्थान् मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया
॥3॥ मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ॥६॥
मारुतस्तूरसि चरन् मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम्।
॥4॥ प्रातःसवनयोगं तं छन्दो गायत्रमाश्रितम् ॥७॥

सूयवः। जि ह्वा मू ल सु प ध्मा चेति। ×क ⌒पौ कखपफाश्रयौ[1]। क्षित × कूपे। असौ यः ⌒पन्थाः। अनुस्वारविसर्गजिह्वामूलीयपध्मानीया अयोगवाहा आश्रयस्थान-भागिनो[2] यमाश्रितास्तस्य स्थानं भजन्तीत्यर्थः। दुः स्पृ ष्ट श्चे तौ ति। ईषत्-स्पृष्टोऽन्तःस्थसधर्मा ऌकारः प्लुतः, एवकारो दीर्घभेदव्यावर्तकः। चकाराद् ह्रस्व-सङ्गतः कार्यः। अनुस्वारादयो ऌप्लुतान्ताः पञ्च षड् वा। एवमेते त्रिषष्टि-श्चतुःषष्टिर्वा व्याख्याताः ॥५॥

वर्णसंख्यां विधाय सम्प्रति वर्णोत्पत्तिं वक्तुम् उत्पादयितुर्विवेकमुख्यमं[3] चाह—आ त्मे ति। अतनशीलः सरणशीलो वाऽदनशीलो वा त्रयोदशेन्द्रियातीतः कर्मा(र्ता ?)त्मा "तस्य हैतस्य हृदयस्याग्रं प्रद्योतते तेन प्रद्योतेनैष आत्मा निष्क्रामति चक्षुषो वा मूर्ध्नो वाऽन्येभ्यो वा शरीरदेशेभ्यः" (बृह.आ.४.४.२) इति विज्ञायते। "एवमेष सम्प्रसादोऽस्माच्छरीरात् समुत्थाय परं ज्योतिरुपसंपद्य स्वेन रूपेणाभि-निष्पद्यते" (छान्दो.८.१२.३) इत्येवं क एषाम् उच्चारयितेति प्रश्नस्योत्तरम् आ त्मे ति छान्दोग्यश्रुतौ प्रतिपादितो बुद्ध्याख्येनेन्द्रियेण अर्थान् प्रयोजनानि निश्चित्य मन इन्द्रियं वक्तुं योजयति प्रेरयति, तन्मनः कायान्तर्वर्तिनं जाठराग्निम् [आहन्ति] प्रेरयति। सोऽप्यग्निर्मारुतं वायुं प्रेरयति ॥६॥

मा रु त स्त्वि ति। स वायुरूर्ध्वगत्या उरसि हृद्देशे चरन् मन्द्रं स्वरं, "स्फायितं चौ"(उ.सू.२.१२)त्यादिना मन्दे रक् प्रत्ययः, जनयत्युत्पादयति। तं स्वरं प्रातःसवनयुक्तं गायत्रं छन्द आश्रितं जानीयात्। मन्द्रया वाचा प्रातःसवनमिति सोमयज्ञः (-यज्ञियः ?) कल्पः ॥७॥

1. L पराश्रयौ॰ 2. L भाविनो. 3. Be. °विवेक°.

कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं त्रैष्टुभानुगम् ।
||5|| तारं तार्तीयसवनं शीर्षण्यं जागतानुगम् ॥८॥
सोदीर्णो मूर्ध्न्यभिहतो वक्त्रमापद्य मारुतः ।
||6|| वर्णाञ्जनयते तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ॥९॥
स्वरतः कालतः स्थानात् प्रयत्नानुप्रदानतः ।
||7|| इति वर्णविदः प्राहुर्निपुणं तं निबोधत ॥१०॥
उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्रयः ।
||8|| ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति कालतो नियमा अचि ॥११॥
* उदात्ते निषादगान्धारावनुदात्त ऋषभधैवतौ ।
स्वरितप्रभवा ह्येते षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ॥१२॥

कण्ठ इति[1] । तं मारुतं कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनसवनयुक्तं मध्यमस्वरयुतं त्रिष्टुप्छन्दस्कं जानीयात् तं शीर्षण्यं शीर्षिण भवं "शीर्षंश्छन्दसी"ति (पा. ६.१.६०) शिरसः शीर्षभावः,[2] तृतीयसवनयुतं जागतच्छन्दस्कं जानीयात् ॥८॥

सोदीर्ण इति ॥ स वायुरुदीर्णो मूर्ध्नि अद्दारे (?) अभिहतः फालितः वक्त्रविवरं प्राप्य वर्णान् जनयते । "संहितायाम्" (पा. ६.१.७२) अधिकृत्य "सोऽचि लोपे चेत् पादपूरणम्" (पा. ६.१.१३४) इति सलोपे गुणः । तथा । "यासौ[3] मित्रावरुणसदनादुच्चरन्ती त्रिषष्टिं वर्णानन्तःप्रकटकरणैः प्राणसङ्गप्रसूती । तां पश्यन्तीं प्रथममुदितां मध्यमां बुद्धिसंस्थां वाचं वक्त्रे करणविशदां वैखरीं च प्रपद्ये" इति । तथा च मन्त्रवर्णः । "चत्वारि वाक्परिमितपदानीति विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः । गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति" (ऋक्. १.१६४.४५) इति ॥९॥

तेषां वर्णानां वक्ष्यमाणो विभागः पञ्चप्रकारः स्मृतः । तमेव दर्शयति— स्वरत इति उदात्तषड्जमन्द्रादिभ्यः, कालत उच्चारात्, स्थानादष्टविधात्, प्रयत्नाद् अस्पृष्टादेः, अनुप्रदानतः अनुनासिकादेः । अनुप्रदानान्युपरिष्टाद् व्याख्यास्यामः । तत्सर्वं वक्ष्यमाणं नितरां जानीत ॥१०-१२॥

1. Be. omits कण्ठ इति. 2. MSS. after this तत्र भवं. 3. MSS. यासां.

अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।
॥9॥ जिह्वामूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठौ च तालु च ॥१३॥
* ओभावश्च विवृत्तिश्च शषसा रेफ एव च ।
जिह्वामूलमुपध्मा च गतिरष्टविधोष्मणः ॥१४॥
* यद्योभावप्रसन्धानमुकारादिपरं पदम् ।
स्वरान्तं तादृशं विद्याद् यदन्यद्व्यक्तमूष्मणः ॥१५॥
हकारं पञ्चमैर्युक्तमन्तःस्थाभिश्च संयुतम् ।
॥10॥ औरसं तं विजानीयात् कण्ठ्यमाहुरसंयुतम् ॥१६॥
कण्ठ्यावहाविचुयशास्तालव्या ओष्ठजावुपू ।
॥11॥ स्युर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरषा दन्त्या लृतुलसाः स्मृताः ।
॥12a॥ जिह्वामूले तु कुः प्रोक्तो दन्त्योष्ठ्यो वः स्मृतो बुधैः ॥१७॥

अ ष्टा विति निगदोऽयम् ॥१३-१५॥

ह का र मिति । वर्गाणां पञ्चमैः ङञणनमैः च पुनः अन्तःस्थैः यरलवैः संयुतं हकारं औरसं उरःस्थानीयं तं विजानीयात् । असंयुतं केवलं हकारं कण्ठ्यम् आहुः ॥१६॥

क ण्ठ्या व हा विति । अहौ अवर्णहकारौ कण्ठ्यौ स्याताम् । पुनर्ग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । इवर्णश्चवर्गो यकारः शकारश्चेति तालव्याः । [यद्]-यत्स्थानस्वरान्वितं हल् तत्तत्स्वरस्थानार्धमात्रकं[1] ज्ञेयम् । [2]अत्रोकारोऽनुबन्धो वर्णगणं बोधयति चुटूइतिवत् । उवर्णपवर्गावोष्ठ्यौ । ऋवर्णष्टवर्गो रकारः षकारश्च मूर्धन्याः स्युः । लृवर्णस्तवर्गो लकारः सकारश्च दन्त्याः स्मृताः । तु पुनर् जि ह्वा मू ले कवर्गः आचार्यैरन्यश्च प्रोक्तः "अथ षष्ठ ऊष्मा जिह्वामूलीयाः प्रथमश्च वर्गः"।(ऋ. प्रा. १.१८) इति शौनकोक्तेः । वकारो धीमद्भिर्दन्तोष्ठाभ्यां जातो दन्तोष्ठ्यः स्मृतः ॥१७॥

1. Be. °मात्रकमधिकं. 2. Be. अत्राकारो°.

॥15b॥ अलाबुवीणानिर्घोषो दन्तमूल्यः स्वराननु ।
॥16a॥ अनुस्वारस्तु कर्तव्यो नित्यं ह्रोः शषसेष्वपि ॥१८॥
* यथा सौराष्ट्रिका नारी तक्रँ इत्यभिभाषते ।
एवं रङ्गाः प्रयोक्तव्या खे अराँ इव खेदया ।
॥12b॥ एऐ तु कण्ठतालव्या ओऔ कण्ठोष्ठजौ स्मृतौ ॥१९॥
अर्धमात्रा तु कण्ठस्य एकारौकारयोर्भवेत् ।
॥13॥ ऐकारौकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विवृतसंवृतम् ॥२०॥
॥14b॥ उपध्मानीय ऊष्मा च जिह्वामूलीयनासिके ।
॥15a॥ अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया आश्रयस्थानभागिनः ॥२१॥
* स्वराणामूष्मणां चैव विवृतं करणं स्मृतम् ।
तेभ्योऽपि विवृतावेङौ ताभ्यामैचौ तथैव च ॥२२॥

अ नु स्वा र स्त्वि ति । अनुस्वारो नासिक्यो ज्ञेयः[1] । एतेन द्वावपि व्याख्यातौ । वर्गाणां पञ्चमाः ङञणनमा नासिक्याः (!) । अपिशब्दात् स्ववर्गस्थानीया अपि ॥१८॥

कण्ठतालुभ्यां जाताविवर्णौवर्णौ[2] स्मृतौ । ओवर्णौवर्णौ[3] कण्ठोष्ठाभ्यां जातौ स्मृतौ । अत्रोपदेशरूपत्वान्न सन्धिः 'अइउण्' इतिवत् । तत्र विविनक्ति—[4]ए का रौ का र यो स्त्वर्धमात्रा कण्ठस्य भवेत्, अन्या त्व[ध्य]र्धमात्रा उत्त[ादन्य]स्थानस्य । इकारौकारान्तर्वर्णौ[5] ऐ [औ][6] क्रमेण विवृतसंवृतप्रयत्नौ[7] ज्ञेयौ । उ प ध्मा नी य इति व्याख्यातः ॥१९-२१॥

ऊ ष्म णा मि ति । हशषसानाम् अचां विवृतं करणं प्रयत्नं[8] स्मृतं शिष्टैः । तेभ्यो[9] एङौ एओसत्तौ विवृतप्रयत्नौ ताभ्याम् [ऐचौ] ऐ औ विवृतौ[10] । व्याख्यातमन्यत् ॥२२॥

1. Be. ज्ञेयम्. 2. Be. L जातविवर्णौवर्णौ. 3. L उवर्णौवर्णौ.
4. L इकारौकार°. 5. Be. L इकारौकारान्तर्वर्तमानौ. 6. Be. L एऐ.
7. L प्रयतनौ. 8. L प्रयतन°. 9. Be. तेभ्योऽसौ एङौ.
10. Be. adds ततोऽपि ताभ्यामपि च पुनराकारौ विवृताख्यः

॥16b॥ अचोऽस्पृष्टा यणस्त्वीषन्नेमस्पृष्टाः शलस्तथा ।
शेषाः स्पृष्टा हलः प्रोक्ता निबोधानुप्रदानतः ॥२३॥
॥17॥ अमोऽनुनासिका नह्रो नादिनो हझषः स्मृताः ।
ईषन्नादा यणजशश्च श्वासिनस्तु खफादयः ।
॥18॥ ईषच्छ्वासांश्चरो विद्याद् गोर्धामैतत् प्रचक्षते ॥२४॥
* कुतीर्थादागतं दग्धमपवर्णं च भक्षितम् ।
न तस्य पाठे मोक्षोऽस्ति पापाहेरिव किल्बिषात् ॥२५॥
* सुतीर्थादागतं व्यक्तं स्वाम्नाय्यं सुव्यवस्थितम् ।
सुस्वरेण सुवक्त्रेण प्रयुक्तं ब्रह्म राजति ॥२६॥

नि बो धा नु प्र दा न त इति। अनु पश्चात् प्रदानं स्वस्वस्थानाद् अन्यस्थानमुच्चारणभेदेन प्रदीयते तत्तस्मात् शिष्य निबोध जानीहि ॥२३॥

अ मो ऽ नु ना सि का इति। अ इ उ ण्। ऋ ऌ क्। ए ओ ङ्। ऐ औ च्। ह य व र ट्। ल ण्। ञ म ङ ण न म् एतेऽमोऽनुनासिका हरवर्जिताः। झभघढधाः नादिनः नादानुप्रदानाः। जबगडदा ईषत्[1] किञ्चिन्न्यूननादानुप्रदानाः खफछठथाः श्वासिनस्तु [चटतकप]शषसा किञ्चिन्न्यूनश्वासान् जानीयात्। एतद् गोर्वाचो धाम स्थानम् आचार्यः प्रचक्षते ॥२४॥

शैक्षेभ्यो[2]ऽध्यापकमुपदिशन् कूपदेशकं निन्दति कु ती र्था दि ति। अननूचानात् तीर्थाद् गुरोः। "निपातागमयोस्तीर्थम् ऋष्टिजुष्टे जले गुरावि"ति नामलिङ्गानुशासने। प्राप्तं दग्धं भस्मवद् गतरसम् अपगतवर्णम् अयथोदितस्थानवर्णं च भक्षितम् अ[न]ादराद् घुष्टं तस्य घोषयितुः परिमोक्षो नास्ति। कस्येव? पापाहेरिव, हन्तुरिव किल्बिषाद् मोक्षो नास्तीति ॥२५॥

स्तौति च सु ती र्था दि ति। सगुरोः प्राप्तम् अभ्यस्तं सुसम्प्रदायि ब्रह्म वेदाख्यं राजति शोभते ॥२६॥

1. Be. omits नादानुप्रदानाः···ईषत्. 2. Be. शैक्षेभ्यो

* न करालो न लम्बोष्ठो नाव्यक्तो नानुनासिकः ।
गद्गदो बद्धजिह्वश्च प्रयोगान् वक्तुमर्हति ॥२७॥

* यथा व्याघ्री हरेत् पुत्रान् दंष्ट्राभिर्न च पीडयेत् ।
भीता पतनभेदाभ्यां तद्वद् वर्णान् प्रयोजयेत् ॥२८॥

* एवं वर्णाः प्रयोक्तव्या नाव्यक्ता न च पीडिताः ।
सम्यग्वर्णप्रयोगेण ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥२९॥

* अभ्यासार्थे द्रुतां वृत्तिं प्रयोगार्थे तु मध्यमाम् ।
शिष्याणामुपदेशार्थे कुर्याद् वृत्तिं विलम्बिताम् ॥३०॥

* शङ्करः शङ्करीं प्रादाद् दाक्षीपुत्राय धीमते ।
दाक्षीपुत्रपाणिनिना येनेदं व्याहृतं भुवि ।
रत्नभूतमिदं शास्त्रं पृथिव्यां सम्प्रकाशितम् ॥३१॥

न क रा ल इति । नकारो 'नानुनासिक'पदाद् अग्रे योजनीयः ॥२७॥

य थे ति । पतनं च भेदश्च तौ ताभ्यां भीता व्याघ्री श्वापदजातिस्त्री यथा पुत्रान् बालान् दंष्ट्राभिर्न पीडयेत् तद्वद् वर्णान् ब्रूयादिति ॥२८॥

ए व मि ति । एवं नाव्यक्ताः न पीडिताश्च वर्णा प्रयोजनीयाः । सम्यक्-स्थानप्रयत्नादिविधिना यथोक्तेन प्रयोगेन ब्रह्मलोके प्रयोक्ता पूज्यते किं पुनर्भूतले इति भावः, एवं सम्यक् ज्ञातः स्वर्गकामधेनुर्वर्णः स्याद् इत्यर्थः ॥२९॥

अ भ्या सा र्थे इति । द्रुतां विलम्बितां मध्यमाम् अभ्यासाद्यर्थे कुर्यात् । व्याख्यातमन्यत् ॥३०॥

श ङ्क र इति । शं सुखं म्लेच्छत्वादिरोगाणां शमनं करोतीति शङ्करः शिवः शङ्करणशीलां शब्दशास्त्रविद्याम् । दाक्षी दक्षस्यापत्यं "तस्यापत्यम्" (पा. ४.१.९२) इत्यण् "टिड्ढाणञ्" (पा. ४.१.१५) इत्यादिना ङीप् तस्याः पुत्राय धीमतेऽतिसुबुद्धये प्रादात् । कोऽसावित्याकाङ्क्षायाम् आह—दा क्षी पु त्र इति । यः पाणिनिः पणिनो[1] युवाऽपत्यम् । "अत इञ्" (पा. ४.१.९५)

1. L पनिनो.

* विनयनमुखनिःसृतामिमां
य इह पठेत् प्रयतः सदा द्विजः ।
स भवति पशुपुत्रकीर्तिमान्
सुखमतुलं च समश्नुते दिवि दिवीति ॥३२॥

येन पाणिनिना इदं प्रत्यक्षं शब्दशास्त्रं व्याहृतम्[1] उक्तम् । तस्मै पाणिनये नम इति[2] पूर्वेण सम्बन्धः । पाणिनेय इति पाठे शुभ्रादित्वं (पा. ४.१.१२३) कल्प्यम् । र त्न भू त मि ति स्पष्टम् ॥३१॥

[3]वि न य न मु ख निः सृ ता मिति । यो द्विजो वेदाधिकारी [प्रयतः] सावधानः सदा निरन्तरम् [इमां] पठेत् स [इह] पशुपुत्रकीर्तिमान् भवति । दिवि सुखम् अतुलं समश्नुते भुनक्ति, स्वर्गं व्याप्नोति वा । द्विर्वचनं शिक्षाध्याय-समाप्त्यर्थम् । विकृतिच्छन्दस्यर्द्धसममपरवक्त्रवृत्तम् "अर्द्धसमा अर्द्धे" (पि. ५.३१) इत्यधिकृत्य, "अपरवक्त्रं नौ लौगन् जौज्रा"(पि. ५.४०)विति लक्षणसूत्रात् ॥ इति शिक्षाप्रकाशः समाप्तः[4] ॥३२॥

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1. L Be. °तं. 2. Be. omits इति. 3. L Be. विनयनाभिमुखनिःसृ°.
4. L reads also संवत् १८४३ पिंगलाब्दे जैष्ठे शुक्लप्रतिपदि दशहरारभदिने श्रीकाश्यां श्रीदुण्ढविनायकसन्निधौ अक्षोपनाम्ना खण्डभट्टात्मजगोविन्देन लिखितमिदम् । ६ ॥ श्रीविश्वेश्वरार्पणमस्तु ॥

॥५॥

V. यजुःशाखीया (The Yajuṣ Recension)

अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामि पाणिनीयं मतं यथा ।
[1]शास्त्रानुपूर्वं तद् विद्याद् यथोक्तं लोकवेदयोः ॥१॥
प्रसिद्धमपि शब्दार्थम् अविज्ञातम् अबुद्धिभिः ।
पुनर्व्यक्तीकरिष्यामि वाच उच्चारणे विधिम् ॥२॥
त्रिषष्टिश्चतुःषष्टिर्वा वर्णाः [2]सम्भवतो मताः ।
प्राकृते संस्कृते चापि स्वयं प्रोक्ताः स्वयम्भुवा ॥३॥

स्वरा विंशतिरेकश्च स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंशतिः ।
॥1॥ यादयश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टौ चत्वारश्च यमाः स्मृताः ॥४॥
अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च ᳲकᳲपौ चापि [3]पराश्रयौ ।
॥2॥ दुःस्पृष्टश्चेति विज्ञेयो ऌकारः प्लुत एव च ॥५॥

यथा सौराष्ट्रिका नारी [4]अराँ इत्यभिभाषते ।
एवं [5]रङ्गं विजानीयात् खे अराँ इव खेदया ॥६॥

हकारं पञ्चमैर्युक्तम् [6]अन्तःस्थैश्चापि संयुतम् ।
॥10॥ [7]औरसं तं विजानीयात् कण्ठ्यमाहुरसंयुतम् ॥७॥
आत्मा बुद्ध्या [8]समर्थ्यार्थान् मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया ।
॥3॥ मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ॥८॥

1. B °पूर्व्यं.
2. C सम्भूमते, L. शम्भुमते.
3. B पराश्रये. L. पराश्रितौ.
4. CD तक्र इत्यभिभीषते. L. तक्रँ इत्यभिभाषते.
5. CL रङ्गाः प्रयोक्तव्याः खे अरा इव खेदया.
6. CL अन्तःस्थाभिश्च.
7. CL औरस्यं.
8. CDL समेत्यार्थान्.

मारुतस्तूरसि चरन् मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् ।
॥4॥ प्रातःसवनयोगं तं छन्दो गायत्रमाश्रितम् ॥९॥
कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं त्रैष्टुभानुगम् ।
॥5॥ तारं तार्तीयसवनं शीर्षण्यं जागतानुगम् ॥१०॥
सोदीर्णो मूर्ध्न्यभिहतो वक्त्रमापद्य मारुतः ।
॥6॥ वर्णान् जनयते तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ॥११॥
स्वरतः कालतः स्थानात् प्रयत्नानुप्रदानतः ।
॥7॥ इति वर्णविदः प्राहुर्निपुणं तं निबोधत ॥१२॥
अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।
॥9॥ जिह्वामूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठौ च तालु च ॥१३॥

उदात्ते निषादगान्धारावनुदात्त ऋषभधैवतौ ।
स्वरितप्रभवा ह्येते षड्जपञ्चममध्यमाः ॥१४॥
ओभावश्च विवृत्तिश्च शषसा रेफ एव च ।
जिह्वामूलम् उपध्मा च गतिरष्टविधोष्मणः ॥१५॥
[1]यद्योभावप्रसन्धानम् उकारादिपरं पदम् ।
स्वरान्तं तादृशं विद्याद् यद् अन्यद् व्यक्तम् ऊष्मणः ॥१६॥
कुतीर्थाद् आगतं दग्धम् अपवर्णं च भक्षितम् ।
[2]न तस्य परिमोक्षोऽस्ति पापाहेरिव किल्बिषात् ॥१७॥
सुतीर्थाद् आगतं [3]जग्धं स्वाम्नाय्यं सुव्यवस्थितम् ।
सुस्वरेण सुवक्त्रेण प्रयुक्तं ब्रह्म [4]राजति ॥१८॥
न करालो न लम्बोष्ठो नाव्यक्तो नानुनासिकः ।
गद्गदो बद्धजिह्वश्च प्रयोगान् वक्तुम् अर्हति ॥१९॥

1. Weber reads °सन्धानमकारादिपरं.
2. CDL न तस्य पाठे मोक्षोऽस्ति.
3. CDL व्यक्तं स्वाम्नाय्यं
4. CDL राजते.

[1]यथा व्याघ्री हरेत् पुत्रान् दंष्ट्राभिर्न च पीडयेत्।
भीता पतनभेदाभ्यां तद्वद् वर्णान् प्रयोजयेत् ॥२०॥
एवं वर्णाः प्रयोक्तव्या नाव्यक्ता न च पीडिताः।
सम्यग्वर्णप्रयोगेण ब्रह्मलोके [2]महीयते ॥२१॥
अभ्यासार्थे द्रुतां वृत्तिं प्रयोगार्थे तु मध्यमाम्।
शिष्याणाम् उपदेशार्थे कुर्याद् वृत्तिं विलम्बिताम् ॥२२॥
उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्रयः।
॥8॥ ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति कालतो नियमा [3]अचि ॥२३॥
कण्ठ्यावहाविचुयशास्तालव्या ओष्ठजावुपू।
॥11॥ स्युर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरषा दन्त्या लृतुलसाः स्मृताः ॥२४॥
जिह्वामूले तु कुः प्रोक्तो दन्त्योष्ठ्यो वः स्मृतो बुधैः।
॥12॥ ए ऐ तु [4]कण्ठ्यतालव्या ओ औ कण्ठोष्ठजौ स्मृतौ ॥२५॥
अर्धमात्रा तु [5]कण्ठ्यस्य एकारैकारयोर्भवेत्।
॥13॥ [6]ऐकारौकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विवृतसंवृतम् ॥२६॥
॥14b॥ उपध्मानीय ऊष्मा च जिह्वामूलीयनासिक्ये।
अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया [7]आश्रयस्थानभाविनः ॥२७॥
॥15॥ अलाबुवीणानिर्घोषो [8]दन्तमूल्यः [9]स्वरानुगः।
॥16a॥ अनुस्वारस्तु कर्तव्यो नित्यं ह्रोः शषसेषु च ॥२८॥
[10]ऊष्मणां च स्वराणां च विवृतं करणं स्मृतम्।
तेभ्योऽपि [11]विवृतावेङौ [12]ताभ्याम् ऐचौ ततोऽपि च ॥२९॥

1. CDL व्याघ्री यथा…दंष्ट्राभ्यां न च.
2. CDL न हीयते.
3. A अपि.
4. CL कण्ठतालव्या.
5. A कण्ठस्य ; CDL. कण्ठ्या स्याद एकारयोर्.
6. Weber reads इकारौकारयोर्मध्ये ए ऐ, CDL ओकारौकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विवृतसंवृतम्.
7. CL आश्रयस्थानभागिनः.
8. AL दन्त्यमूल्यः, BW दन्त°, CW मूल्यः.
9. CL स्वरान् अनु.
10. CL स्वराणामूष्मणां चैव.
11. ABW विवृतावेतौ.
12. AW ताभ्यामेतौ, CL ताभ्यामैचौ तथैव च.

॥16b॥ अचोऽस्पृष्टा [1]यणस्त्वीषन्नेमस्पृष्टाः शलः स्मृताः ।
शेषाः स्पृष्टा हलः प्रोक्ता निबोधानुप्रदानतः ॥३०॥
॥17॥ [2]यमोऽनुनासिका [3]नञौ नादिनो [4]हझषः स्मृताः ।
ईषन्नादा [5]यणजशश्च श्वासिनस्तु खफादयः ॥३१॥
॥18॥ [6]ईषच्छ्वासांश्चरो विद्याद् गोर्धामैतत् प्रचक्षते ।

शङ्करः [7]शाङ्करीं प्रादात् दाक्षीपुत्राय धीमते ॥३२॥
दाक्षीपुत्रः [8]पाणिनेयो येनेदं व्याहृतं भुवि ।
रत्नभूतम् इदं शास्त्रं पृथिव्यां सम्प्रकाशितम् ॥३३॥
येनाक्षरसमाम्नायम् अधिगम्य महेश्वरात् ।
कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥३४॥
[9]त्रिनयनमुखनिःसृताम् इमां
य इह पठेत् [10]प्रयतः सदा द्विजः ।
स भवति [11]पशुपुत्रकीर्तिमान्
[12]सुखम् अतुलं च समश्नुते दिवि दिवीति ॥३५॥

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1. CL °नेमेः स्पृष्टा शरः, B नेमस्पृष्टाः शलः ; AW °नेमस्पृष्टाश्शल.
2. CL यमो, B यशमो. (ञपमो sec. m) AW ञमो.
3. CL नङौ.
4. B ह्नव्ष ; CL यणं जश्, ABW य ए यशश्.
5. AW ईषच्छ्वासंश्चरो.
6. B ईषच्छ्वासश्, C ईषच्छ्वासाश्.
7. ABW शङ्करीं.
8 CL पाणिनिना.
9. CL त्रिनयनमभिमुख.
10. CL प्रयतश्च.
11. Weber reads धनधान्य before पशुपुत्र°.
12. CL अतुलं च सुखं समश्नुते.

॥६॥

VI. ऋक्शाखीया (The Ṛk Recension

[१]

अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामि पाणिनीयं मतं यथा ।
[1]शास्त्रानुपूर्व्यं तद्विद्याद् यथोक्तं लोकवेदयोः ॥१॥
प्रसिद्धमपि शब्दार्थम् अविज्ञातम् अबुद्धिभिः ।
पुनर्व्यक्तीकरिष्यामि वाच उच्चारणे विधिम् ॥२॥
त्रिषष्टिश्चतुःषष्टिर्वा वर्णाः [2]शम्भुमते मताः ।
प्राकृते संस्कृते चापि स्वयं प्रोक्ताः स्वयम्भुवा ॥३॥

स्वरा विंशतिरेकश्च स्पर्शानां पञ्चविंशतिः ।
॥1॥ यादयश्च स्मृता ह्यष्टौ चत्वारश्च यमाः स्मृताः ॥४॥
अनुस्वारो विसर्गश्च [3]×क ≍पौ चापि पराश्रितौ ।
॥2॥ दुःस्पृष्टश्चेति विज्ञेयो ऌकारः प्लुत एव च ॥५॥

[२]

आत्मा बुद्ध्या [4]समेत्यार्थान् मनो युङ्क्ते विवक्षया ।
॥3॥ मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ॥६॥
मारुतस्तूरसि चरन् मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम् ।
॥4॥ प्रातःसवनयोगं तं छन्दो गायत्रमाश्रितम् ॥७॥
कण्ठे माध्यन्दिनयुगं मध्यमं त्रैष्टुभानुगम् ।
॥5॥ तारं तार्तीयसवनं शीर्षण्यं जागतानुगम् ॥८॥

1. Y °पूर्वं. 2. Y सम्भवतो. 3. Y ≍कपौ. 4. Y समर्थ्यार्थान्

सोदीर्णो मूर्ध्न्यभिहतो वक्त्रमापद्य मारुतः ।
॥6॥ वर्णाञ्जनयते तेषां विभागः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ॥९॥
स्वरतः कालतः स्थानात् प्रयत्नानुप्रदानतः ।
॥7॥ इति वर्णविदः प्राहुर्निपुणं तं निबोधत ॥१०॥

[३]

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च स्वरास्त्रयः ।
॥8॥ ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति कालतो नियमा अचि ॥११॥

उदात्ते निषादगान्धारावनुदात्त ऋषभधैवतौ ।
स्वरितप्रभवा ह्येते [1]षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ॥१२॥

अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानामुरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।
॥9॥ जिह्वामूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठौ च तालु च ॥१३॥

ओभावश्च विवृत्तिश्च शषसा रेफ एव च ।
जिह्वामूलम् उपध्मा च गतिरष्टविधोष्मणः ॥१४॥
यद्योभावप्रसन्धानम् उकारादिपरं पदम् ।
स्वरान्तं तादृशं विद्याद् यदन्यद् व्यक्तम् ऊष्मणः ॥१५॥

[४]

हकारं पञ्चमैर्युक्तम् [2]अन्तःस्थाभिश्च संयुतम् ।
॥10॥ [3]औरस्यं तं विजानीयात् कण्ठ्यमाहुरसंयुतम् ॥१६॥
कण्ठ्यावहाविचुयशास्तालव्या ओष्ठजावुपू ।
॥11॥ स्युर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरषा दन्त्या लृतुलसाः स्मृताः ॥१७॥
जिह्वामूले तु कुः प्रोक्तो दन्त्योष्ठ्यो वः स्मृतो बुधैः ।
॥12॥ ए ऐ तु कण्ठतालव्या ओ औ कण्ठोष्ठजौ स्मृतौ ॥१८॥

1. Y षडजपञ्चममध्यमाः॥   2. Y अन्तःस्थैश्चापि॥   3. Y औरसं.

अर्धमात्रा तु [1]कण्ठास्य ह्येकारैकारयोर्भवेत् ।
॥13॥ ओकारौकारयोर्मात्रा तयोर्विवृतसंवृतम् ॥१९॥
संवृतं मात्रिकं ज्ञेयं विवृतं तु द्विमात्रिकम् ।
घोषा वा संवृताः सर्वे अघोषा विवृताः स्मृताः ॥२०॥

[५]

[2]स्वराणाम् ऊष्मणां चैव विवृतं करणं स्मृतम् ।
तेभ्योऽपि विवृतावेङौ ताभ्याम् ऐचौ [3]तथैव च ॥२१॥
॥14a॥ अनुस्वारयमानां च नासिका स्थानमुच्यते[4] ।
अयोगवाहा विज्ञेया [5]आश्रयस्थानभागिनः ॥२२॥
॥15॥ अलाबुवीणानिर्घोषो दन्तमूल्यः [6]स्वरानुगः ।
॥16a॥ अनुस्वारस्तु कर्तव्यो नित्यं ह्रोः शषसेषु च ॥२३॥
अनुस्वारे विवृत्त्यां तु विरामे चाक्षरद्वये ।
द्विरोष्ठ्यौ तु विगृह्णीयाद् यत्रौकारवकारयोः ॥२४॥
[7]व्याघ्री यथा हरेत् पुत्रान् दंष्ट्राभ्यां न च पीडयेत् ।
भीता पतनभेदाभ्यां तद्वद् वर्णान् प्रयोजयेत् ॥२५॥

[६]

यथा सौराष्ट्रिका नारी तक्रँ इत्यभिभाषते ।
एवं [8]रङ्गाः प्रयोक्तव्याः खे अराँ इव खेदया ॥२६॥
रङ्गवर्णं प्रयुञ्जीरन् नो ग्रसेत् पूर्वम् अक्षरम् ।
दीर्घस्वरं प्रयुञ्जीयात् पश्चान्नासिक्यम् आचरेत् ॥२७॥
हृदये चैकमात्रस्तु अर्धमात्रस्तु मूर्धनि ।
नासिकायां तथार्धं च रङ्गस्यैव द्विमात्रता ॥२८॥

1. Ch कण्ठ्यात् स्यादेकारौकार°, Y कण्ठास्य एकारौकार° 2. Y ऊष्मणां च स्वराणां च.
3. Y ततोऽपि च. 4. Y *has after this* उपध्मानीय ऊष्मा च जिह्वामूलीयनासिके.
5. Y °स्थानभाविनः. 6. Ch. स्वरान् अनु.
7. Y यथा व्याघ्री...दंष्ट्राभिर्न च. 8. Y रङ्गं विजानीयात्.

[1]हृदयादुत्कटे तिष्ठन् कांस्येन समनुस्वरन्।
मार्दवं च द्विमात्रं च जघन्वाँ इति निदर्शनम्॥२९॥
मध्ये तु कम्पयेत् कम्पम् उभौ पार्श्वौ [2]समौ भवेत्।
सरङ्गं कम्पयेत् कम्पं रथीवेति निदर्शनम्॥३०॥

[७]

एवं वर्णाः प्रयोक्तव्या नाव्यक्ता न च पीडिताः।
सम्यग्वर्णप्रयोगेण ब्रह्मलोके महीयते॥३१॥
गीती शीघ्री शिरःकम्पी तथा लिखितपाठकः।
अनर्थज्ञोऽल्पकण्ठश्च षडेते पाठकाधमाः॥३२॥
माधुर्यम् अक्षरव्यक्तिः पदच्छेदस्तु सुस्वरः।
धैर्यं लयसमर्थं (?) च षडेते पाठका (?) गुणाः॥३३॥
शङ्कितम् भीतम् [3]उद्घुष्टम् अव्यक्तम् अनुनासिकम्।
काकस्वरं [4]शिरसिगं तथा स्थानविवर्जितम्॥३४॥
उपांशु दष्टं त्वरितं निरस्तं विलम्बितं गद्गदितं प्रगीतम्।
निष्पीडितं ग्रस्तपदाक्षरं च वदेन्नदीनं न तु सानुनास्यम्॥३५॥
प्रातः पठेन्नित्यम् उरःस्थितेन स्वरेण शार्दूलरुतोपमेन।
मध्यन्दिने कण्ठगतेन चैव चक्राह्वसंकूजितसन्निभेन॥३६॥
तारं तु विद्यात् [5]सवने तृतीये शिरोगतं तच्च सदा प्रयोज्यम्।
[6]मयूरहंसान्यभृतस्वराणां तुल्येन नादेन शिरःस्थितेन॥३७॥

[८]

॥16b॥ अचोऽस्पृष्टा यणस्त्वीषन्नेमस्पृष्टाः [7]शलः स्मृताः।
शेषाः स्पृष्टा हलः प्रोक्ता निबोधानुप्रदानतः॥३८॥
॥17॥ यमोऽनुनासिका [8]नञ्ञो नादिनो हझषः स्मृताः।
ईषन्नादा [9]यणो जश्च श्वासिनस्तु खफादयः॥३९॥

1. C °हृत्कटे L °दृत्कटे. 2. CL समौ. 3. Weber reads उद्घृष्टं.
4. Weber reads शिर सगतं. 5. सवनं तृतीयं. 6. Ch °हंसान्यभृत°.
7. Y शलः. 8. Y नञ्ञो. 9. Y यणयश्च.

॥18॥ ईषच्छ्वासांश्चरो विद्याद् गोधामेतत् प्रचक्षते ।
[1]दाक्षीपुत्रः पाणिनिना येनेदं [2]व्यापितं भुवि ॥४०॥
छन्दः पादौ तु वेदस्य हस्तौ कल्पोऽथ पठ्यते ।
ज्योतिषाम् अयनं चक्षुनिरुक्तं श्रोत्रम् उच्यते ॥४१॥
शिक्षा घ्राणं तु वेदस्य मुखं व्याकरणं स्मृतम् ।
तस्मात् साङ्गम् अधीत्यैव ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥४२॥

[९]

उदात्तम् आख्याति वृषोऽङ्गुलीनां प्रदेशिनीमूलनिविष्टमूर्धा ।
उपान्तमध्ये स्वरितं [3]धृतं च कनिष्ठिकायामनुदात्तमेव ॥४३॥
उदात्तं प्रदेशिनीं विद्यात् प्रचयं मध्यतोऽङ्गुलिम् ।
निहतं तु कनिष्ठिक्यां स्वरितोपकनिष्ठिकाम् ॥४४॥
अन्तोदात्तम् आद्युदात्तम् उदात्तम् अनुदात्तं नीचस्वरितम् ।
मध्योदात्तं स्वरितं द्व्युदात्तं त्र्युदात्तमिति नवपदशय्या ॥४५॥
अग्निः सोमः प्र वो वीर्यं हविषा स्वर् बृहस्पतिः इन्द्राबृहस्पती ।
अग्निरित्यन्तोदात्तं सोम इत्याद्युदात्तं प्रेत्युदात्तं
व इत्यनुदात्तं वीर्यं नीचस्वरितम् ॥४६॥
हविषा मध्योदात्तं स्वरिति स्वरितं बृहस्पतिरिति द्व्युदात्तम्
इन्द्राबृहस्पती इति त्र्युदात्तम् ॥४७॥
अनुदात्तो हृदि ज्ञेयो मूर्ध्न्युदात्त उदाहृतः ।
स्वरितः कर्णमूलीयः सर्वास्ये प्रचयः स्मृतः ॥४८॥

[१०]

चाषस्तु वदते मात्रां द्विमात्रं चैव वायसः ।
शिखी रौति त्रिमात्रं तु नकुलस्त्वर्धमात्रकम् ॥४९॥
कुतीर्थादागतं दग्धमपवर्णं च भक्षितम् ।
न तस्य [4]पाठे मोक्षोऽस्ति पापाहेरिव किल्बिषात् ॥५०॥

1. Ch दाक्षीपुत्र°, Y. °पुत्रः पाणिनेयो.
2. Y व्याहृतं भुवि
3. Weber *reads* धृतश्च. Ch द्रुतं च.
4. Y परिमोक्षोऽस्ति.

सुतीर्थादागतं [1]व्यक्तं स्वाम्नाय्यं सुव्यवस्थितम् ।
सुस्वरेण सुवक्त्रेण प्रयुक्तं ब्रह्म [2]राजते ॥५१॥
मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥५२॥
अवक्षरम् (?) अनायुष्यं विस्वरं व्याधिपीडितम् ।
अक्षताशस्वरूपेण (?) वज्रं पतति मस्तके ॥५३॥
हस्तहीनं योऽधीते स्वरवर्णविवर्जितम् ।
ऋग्यजुःसामभिर्दग्धो वियोनिम् अधिगच्छति ॥५४॥
हस्तेन वेदं योऽधीते स्वरवर्णार्थसंयुतम् ।
ऋग्यजुःसामभिः पूतो ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥५५॥

[११]

शङ्करः शाङ्करीं प्रादाद् दाक्षीपुत्राय धीमते ।
वाङ्मयेभ्यः समाहृत्य देवीं वाचमिति स्थितिः ॥५६॥
येनाक्षरसमाम्नायम् अधिगम्य महेश्वरात् ।
कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥५७॥
येन धौता गिरः पुंसां विमलैः शब्दवारिभिः ।
तमश्चाज्ञानजं भिन्नं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥५८॥
अज्ञानान्धस्य लोकस्य ज्ञानाञ्जनशलाकया ।
चक्षुरुन्मीलितं येन तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥५९॥
[3]त्रिनयनमभिमुखनिःसृतामिमां
य इह पठेत् [4]प्रयतश्च सदा द्विजः ।
स भवति धनधान्यपशुपुत्रकीर्तिमान्
[5]अतुलं च सुखं समश्नुते दिवीति दिवीति ॥६०॥

अथ शिक्षाम्, आत्मा, उदात्तश्च, हकारं, स्वराणां, यथा, गीतौ, अचोऽस्पृष्टा, उदात्तं, चाषस्तु, शङ्कर एकादश ॥

इति पाणिनीय-शिक्षा समाप्ता ॥

1. Y जग्ध. 2. Y राजते. 3. Y त्रिनयनमुखनिःसृता°
4. Y प्रयतः सदा. 5. Y सुखमतुलं च सम°.

परिशिष्टम्

चान्द्र-वर्णसूत्राणि

Varṇa-Sūtras of Candragomin

॥ ॐ विघ्नान्तकाय नमः । ॐ ॥

स्थानकरणप्रयत्नेभ्यो वर्णा जायन्ते ॥१॥

तत्र स्थानम् ॥२॥

कण्ठः अकुहविसर्जनीयानाम् ॥३॥

कण्ठतालुकम् एदैताम् ॥४॥

कण्ठोष्ठम् ओदौताम् ॥५॥

मूर्धा ऋटुरषाणाम् ॥६॥

दन्ताः ऌतुलसानाम् ॥७॥

नासिका अनुस्वारस्य ॥८॥

स्वस्थानानुनासिकाः ङञणनमाः ॥९॥

तालु इचुयशानाम् ॥१०॥

ओष्ठौ उपध्मानीययोः ॥११॥

दन्तौष्ठं वकारस्य ॥१२॥

जिह्वामूलं जिह्वामूलीयस्य (ययोः) ॥१३॥

करणम् ॥१४॥

जिह्वाग्रं दन्त्यानाम् ॥१५॥

जिह्वामध्यं तालव्यानाम् ॥१६॥

जिह्वोपाग्रं शिरस्यानाम् ॥१७॥

शेषाः स्वस्थानका(क)रणाः ॥१८॥

प्रयत्नो द्विविधः ॥१९॥

आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यश्च ॥२०॥

तत्र आभ्यन्तरः ॥२१॥

संवृतत्वं विवृतत्वं स्पृष्टत्वम् ईषत्स्पृष्टत्वं च ॥२२॥

संवृतत्वम् अकारस्य ॥२३॥

विवृतम् ऊष्मणां स्वराणां च ॥२४॥

तेभ्यो विवृततरौ एदोतौ: (त्वेदोतो:) ॥२५॥

ताभ्याम् ऐदौतौ: ॥२६॥

ताभ्यामप्यकारस्य ॥२७॥

स्पृष्टत्वं स्पर्शानाम् ॥२८॥

ईषत्स्पृष्टत्वं त्वन्त:स्थानाम् ॥२९॥

वा ह्यः ॥३०॥

वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीयाः शषसविसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयाश्च

विवृतकण्ठा [अ-]नादानुप्रदाना अघोषाः ॥३१॥

प्रथमद्वितीयपञ्चमा अन्त:स्थाश्चाल्पप्राणाः ॥३२॥

इतरे सर्वे महाप्राणाः ॥३३॥

तृतीयचतुर्थपञ्चमाः सानुस्वारान्त:स्थहकाराः

संवृतकण्ठ[ा] नादानुप्रदाना घोषवन्तः ॥३४॥

द्वितीयचतुर्थाः शषसहाश्चोष्माणः ॥३५॥

कादयो मावसानाः स्पर्शाः ॥३६॥

अन्त:स्था यरलवाः ॥३७॥ इत्येष बाह्यः प्रयत्नः ॥

अत्र चावर्णो ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति त्रिधा भिन्नः प्रत्येकम् उदात्तानुदात्त-स्वरितभेदेन सानुनासिकनिरनुनासिकभेदेन चाष्टादशधा भवति ।३८॥

एवमिवर्णोवर्णौ ऋवर्णश्च ॥३९॥

लृवर्णस्य दीर्घो नास्ति तेन द्वादशधा भवति ॥४०॥

एकमात्रिको ह्रस्वः ॥४१॥

द्विमात्रिको दीर्घः ॥४२॥

त्रिमात्रिकः प्लुतः ॥४३॥

उच्चैरुदात्तः ॥४४॥

नीचैरनुदात्तः ॥४५॥

समाहारः स्वरितः ॥४६॥

स्वस्थानानुनासिको निरनुनासिकश्च ॥४७॥

अन्त:स्था द्विप्रभेदा रेफवर्जिताः सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्चेति ॥४८॥

इति चान्द्रवर्णसूत्राणि समाप्तानि ॥

THE PĀṆINĪYA-ŚIKṢĀ

With Translation and Notes (Critical and Exegetical)

THE PĀṆINĪYA ŚIKṢĀ

WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES (CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL)

[*a i u*-ṇ || *ṛ ḷ*-k || *e o*-ṅ || *ai au*-c || *ha ya va ra* -ṭ || *la*-ṇ || *ña ma ṅa ṇa na*-m || *jha bha*-ñ || *gha ḍha dha*-ṣ || *ja ba ga ḍa da*-ś || *kha pha cha ṭha tha ca ṭa ta*-v || *ka pa*-y || *śa ṣa sa*-r || *ha*-l.]

NOTE 1. The Varṇa-samāmnāya (or the so-called Śiva-sūtras) whether it was composed by Pāṇini or any of his predecessors was in all likelihood an essential part of the PŚ. and constituted its beginning, for pratyāhāras like *ac*, *yaṇ*, *śar*, etc., have been used in that work. But there being no direct evidence about its assumed place in the PŚ. we have put it within square brackets. (For detailed discussion on its age and authorship as well as other points, see Introduction, §§ 12-15).

NOTE 2. The Pñj., Prk., Yaj. and Ṛk recensions begin with the three following couplets :

Atha śikṣāṃ pravakṣyāmi Pāṇinīyaṃ mataṃ yathā ।
śāstrānupūrvyaṃ tad vidyād yathóktaṃ loka-vedayoḥ ॥ (1)
Prasiddham api śabdárthaṃ avijñātam abuddhibhiḥ ।
punar vyaktīkariṣyāmi vāca uccāraṇe vidhim ॥ (2)
Tri-ṣaṣṭiś catuḥ-ṣaṣṭir vā varṇāḥ sambhavato matāḥ ।
Prākṛte Saṃskṛte cāpi svayaṃ proktāḥ Svayambhuvā ॥ (3)

Tr. Now I shall give out the Śikṣā according to the views of Pāṇini. In pursuance of the traditional lore, one should learn it with reference to the popular and the Vedic languages. Though words and their meaning are well known, yet these are not within the knowledge of persons intellectually deficient, (hence) I shall dwell once more on the rules regarding the pronunciation of words. That speech-sounds in Prakrit and Sanskrit are sixty-three or sixty-four, according to their origin, has been said by Brahman (Svayambhū) himself. [1-3].

a. The expression *Pāṇinīyaṃ mataṃ yathā* agrees with the following which occurs later on in all recensions (except the AP.): *Śaṃkaraḥ śāṃkarīṃ prādād Dākṣīputrāya dhīmate.* It appears that the compiler of the AP. did not know who the author of the PŚ. was. For, though in the introduction of his metrics (ch. 328 AP. ed. Ānandāśrama) he writes: *chando vakṣye mūlajais taiḥ Piṅgalôktaṃ yathākramam* he is quite silent about the source of the Śikṣā given by him It is not so much likely that Pāṇini like later authors would put in his own name in his work, for in his Aṣṭādhyāyī too he does not mention himself. This ignorance of the compiler of the AP. along with the defective nature of the text of the PŚ. as given in his work probably goes to show that at his time (c. 800 A.C.) the PŚ. was not a frequently studied work. The Prātiśākhyas which are later than PŚ. must have supplanted it to a considerable extent at that time. That the author of the AP. leaves out as many as *six hemistichs* out of *eighteen couplets* shows the damaged condition in which his material had already reached at the time of the compilation of the AP.

b. The expression *tri-ṣaṣṭiś catuḥ-ṣaṣṭir vā* shows how the author of these spurious verses felt a difficulty over the meaning of the first two couplets of the PŚ. and could not say for certain whether 63 or 64 letters were meant by Pāṇini. Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra (c. 300 B.C) knows only 63 letters (see ed. Jolly, II. 9.14). The AP. contains none of these couplets except the first half of the third in the following form: *vakṣye śikṣāṃ triṣaṣṭiḥ syur varṇā vā catur-adhikāḥ.* It is evident that the compiler of the AP. too felt a difficulty over first two couplets of the PŚ. It cannot be ascertained whether the authors of the other recensions have imitated the indecision of the AP. in this matter or independently had their own confusion.

c. The expression *Prākṛte Saṃskṛte câpi*, scarcely older than the AP. (c. 800 A.C.), has sometimes been erroneously referred to as the earliest mention of the names of Sanskrit and Prakrit languages (*e.g.* Hari Narayan Apte, Wilson Philological Lectures of 1915, Poona, 1922, p.5).

Svarā viṃśatir ekaś ca sparśānāṃ pañca-viṃśatiḥ |
yâdayaś ca smṛtā hy aṣṭau catvāraś ca yamāḥ smṛtāḥ || (4)

Anusvāro visargaś ca χa-φau câpi parâśrayau |
duḥspṛṣṭaś cêti vijñeyo ḷ-kāraḥ pluta eva ca || (5)

Tr. Vowels are twenty-one, stops twenty-five, the group beginning with *ya* (*i.e.* semivowels, sibilants and h) eight and yamas four; anusvāra, visarga χ and φ are dependent on others and the pluta ḷ is *duḥspṛṣṭa*. [4-5].

NOTE 3. The order in which the different groups of speech-sounds have been mentioned seems to be due to exigency of metre. The twenty-one vowels according to the commentaries, the Pañjikā and the Prakāśa are: a, ā, $ā_3$; i, ī, $ī_3$; u, ū, $ū_3$; ṛ, ṝ, $ṝ_3$; ḷ, ; e, e_3 ; o, o_3 ; ai, ai_3 ; au, au_3 .

The earliest enumeration of vowels has probably been in the so-called Śiva-sūtras. But there we have only nine vowels, long and pluta ones being altogether omitted. The omission has been discussed before (see Introduction, § 14). The Prātiśākhyas are not in agreement with one another as regards the treatment of vowels. The following is a tabular statement of vowels recognized in the extant Prātiśākhyas compared with the vowels of the PŚ.

Table I.

Vowels according to the PŚ. and the Prātiśākhyas.

PŚ.	a	ā	$ā_3$	i	ī	$ī_3$	u	ū	$ū_3$	ṛ	ṝ	$ṝ_3$	ḷ		$ḷ_3$	e	e_3	o	o_3	ai	ai_3	au	au_3	22
APr.[1]	a	ā		i	ī		u	ū		ṛ	ṝ		ḷ			e		o		ai		au		13
ṚPr.[2]	a	ā		i	ī		u	ū		ṛ	ṝ		ḷ			e		o		ai		au		13
TPr.[3]	a	ā	$ā_3$	i	ī	$ī_3$	u	ū	$ū_3$	ṛ	ṝ		ḷ	ḹ		e		o		ai		au		16
VPr.[4]	a	ā	$ā_3$	i	ī	$ī_3$	u	ū	$ū_3$	ṛ	ṝ	$ṝ_3$	ḷ	ḹ	$ḷ_3$	e	e_3	o	o_3	ai	ai_3	au	au_3	23
ṚT[5]	a	ā	$ā_3$	i	ī	$ī_3$	u	ū	$ū_3$	ṛ	ṝ	$ṝ_3$	ḷ	ḹ	$ḷ_3$	e	e_3	o	o_3	ai	ai_3	au	au_3	23

[1] The APr. according to the commentary does not include the pluta vowels in the Varṇa-samāmnāya, but admits their existence in the Atharva Veda (I. 105). It is possible that the pluta vowels arose late in the recitation of this Veda.

[2] In his enumeration of vowels, Uvaṭa (*e.g.*, on ṚPr. I. 14) does not mention pluta ones, though the ṚPr. recognizes them (see I. 16; II. 32 etc.). In the ṚPr. ḷ (also long ḹ ?) does not enjoy the full status of a vowel. For it can stand neither at the beginning nor at the end (I. 9, 11).

[3] The commentaries to the TPr. do not recognize pluta variety of ṛ, ḷ and diphthongs.

[4] This enumeration is according to Uvaṭa. For his view on ṚPr. vowels see Note 2 above. The first seven chapters of the VPr. are genuine. The last (VIII) chapter seems very much to be a late composition (see Weber, Ind. Stud. IV, p. 65). Hence by VPr. we shall understand the first seven chapters, and the chapter VIII will be designated by the name late VPr. or l VPr.

[5] The view of the ṚT. as regards the number of vowels it recognizes has been gathered from its vṛtti which might have been built on Audavraji's work (see Introduction §40). The recognition of a long ḹ by the ṚT. is curious. PŚ. and other Prātiśākhyas do not accept this.

The difference between the PŚ. and the Prātiśākhyas is due to their originally different character, for the former was a manual for helping the recitation of all the Vedas or it may have belonged to the one undivided Veda that existed at the very beginning (see Introduction, § 18), while the latter (the Prātiśākhyas) were treatises related to the peculiar mode of reciting or chanting one particular Veda, or its many recensions (*tatra sarva-veda-sādhāraṇī śikṣā...Pāṇininā prakāśitā. prativeda-śākhaṃ ca bhinna-rūpā prātiśākhya-saṃjñitā anyaireva munibhiḥ pradarśitā*, Prasthāna-bheda, Weber's Ind. Stud. I, p. 16). The fact that the PŚ. was accessory to the study of all the Vedas, required that it should be a treatise of general kind and in this respect differs from the Prātiśākhyas which related to one kind only of the mantra-text in its different śākhās. Hence we find the Atharva and Ṛk Prātiśākhyas omitting from their treatment of vowels the pluta ones which probably arose late in the recitation of their respective mantra-texts. The TPr. includes pluta *a*, *i* and *u* in its treatment of vowels while the diphthongs (*e*, *o*, *ai*, *au*) as well as *ṛ* and *ḷ* have no pluta variety in it.

NOTE 4. *Yamas* are said to be particular nasal sounds occurring before the nasal stops when plosives precede them. The enumeration of yamas as four in the commentaries appears to be a bit puzzling; for, according to the definition of the Prātiśākhyas and the Nār. Ś. the yamas become 20 or 21 in number (see APr. I. 99; TPr. XXI. 12, XXII. 12; ṚPr. VI. 8). Uvaṭa in his commentary of the ṚPr. has a defence for both the enumerations. He sums up his first discussion, with *evaṃ viṃśatir yamā bahv-ṛcānāṃ bhavanti sva-rūpaiś catvāra eva tad uttaratra yama-lakṣaṇe vicārayiṣyāmaḥ* (on I. 20) and in discussing the character of yama (on VI. 8) he says *tasmād iha 'sparśā yamānananunāsikā' ity ucyamāne viṃśatitvāt sthāninām ādeśānām api yamānāṃ viṃśatitva-prasaṅgaḥ ; sa mā bhūt. caturṇām eva yamānāṃ prathamāḥ prathamaṃ dvitīyā dvitīyam 'evam ā pañcamād āpadyerann ity ucyate.* The sum and substance of what Uvaṭa says seems to be that in pronunciation the yamas do

not partake of the characteristics of their respective groups to any considerable extent, hence they are to be called the first yama the second yama and so on, making the yamas four in number. But the Bahv-ṛcas however thought otherwise and gave an extremely logical interpretation to the definition of the Prātiśākhya without caring for its practical aspect (Whitney has a difficulty over the nature and number of the yamas; see his comments on APr. I. 99, TPr. II. 51 ; XXI, 12 ; XXII, 12. A great deal of his difficulty is due to the peculiar nature of the TPr.). The late Vāj. Pr., *i.e.*, its ch. VIII (29), has recognized four yamas only though curiously enough Uvaṭa explains their number to be twenty. In the Ṛktantra also (ed. Burnell, p. 2) only four yamas have been recognized. (For more information about yamas see Siddheshwar Varma's 'Critical Studies', pp. 99ff.)

NOTE 5. *Anusvāra.* All the Prātiśākhyas except the Ṛktantra have recognized one anusvāra only. The Pañjikā as well as the Prakāśa recognizes a reading *anusvārau* according to which two anusvāras are available. In this matter the Pañjikā invokes the authority of Audavraji. But the recognition of two anusvāras seems very much to be a late development and did not find favour with the majority of early Vedic phoneticians (Śaikṣikas). It is possibly the author of the spurious verse *tri-ṣaṣtiś catuḥ-ṣaṣṭir vā*, etc., that has first honoured the view of Audavraji in connexion with the PŚ.

NOTE 6. *Duḥspṛṣṭaḥ.* The pluta *ḷ* has been called the *duḥspṛṣṭa* or 'touched-with-difficulty.' This may be one of the reasons why some Prātiśākhyas did not recognize this sound (see Table I). But the PŚ. being meant for all the Vedas had to notice this. It should be known that the commentator to the ṚT. recognizes this (see *ibid*). Weber was inclined to understand *duḥspṛṣṭa* as a *nāsikya* (Ind. Stud. IV, p. 349). But his view seems to be untenable. The Pañjikā on the authority of Audavraji takes it in the sense of *īṣat-spṛṣṭa* (p. 11). For according to the latter, *ḷ* partakes of the character of semivowels which are *īṣat-spṛṣṭa* according to PŚ. See also Uvaṭa on ṚPr. XIII. 3.

Ātmā buddhyā samarthyârthān mano yuṅkte vivakṣayā ।
manaḥ kāyâgnim āhanti sa prêrayati mārutam ॥ (6)
Mārutas tûrasi caran mandraṃ janayati svaram ।
prātaḥ savana-yogaṃ taṃ chando-gāyatram āśritam ॥ (7)
Kaṇṭhe mādhyandina-yugaṃ madhyamaṃ traiṣṭubhânugam ।
tāraṃ tārtīya-savanaṃ śīrṣaṇyaṃ jāgatânugam ॥ (8)
Sôdīrṇo mūrdhny abhihato vaktram āpadya mārutaḥ ।
varṇāñ janayate teṣāṃ vibhāgaḥ pañcadhā smṛtaḥ ॥ (9)
Svarataḥ kālataḥ sthānāt prayatnânupradānataḥ ।
iti varṇa-vidaḥ prāhur nipuṇaṃ taṃ nibodhata ॥ (10)

Tr. *Ātmā* with *buddhi* perceives things and sets the mind to an intention of speaking; the mind (then) gives impetus to the fire within the body, and the latter drives the breath out [6].

The breath circulating within the lungs creates the soft (*mandra*) tone; this is connected with the morning offering (*prātaḥ-savana*) and rests in the Gāyatrī (metre) [7].

(The same breath circulating) in the throat (produces) the middle (*madhyama*) tone and relates to the midday offering (*mādhyandina-savana*) and follows the Triṣṭubh (metre); and the shrill (*tāra*) tone (which is produced by the breath circulating) in the roof of the mouth relates to the third (*i.e.*, evening) offering (of the day) and follows the Jagatī (metre) [8].

(The breath which is thus) sent upwards and is checked by the roof of the mouth attains to the mouth and produces speech-sounds (*varṇas*), which have a fivefold classification—according to their pitch, quantity, place of articulation, the primary effort and the secondary effort. So said those who were versed in (pronouncing) speech-sounds. Learn this carefully [9-10].

NOTE 7. *Prātaḥ-savanayogaṃ*. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa has the following: *atha mandraṃ tapati tasmāt mandrayā vācā prātaḥ-savane śaṃset* (XIV. 6).

NOTE 8. *Śīrṣaṇyaṃ*. This is a form allowed by Pāṇini, in his grammar, for the Chandas only (*śīrṣaṇyaṃś chandasi*, VI. 1. 60). By Chandas the grammarian surely meant the Vedic language[1] as opposed to the current language of his time. There is nothing peculiar in his use of the Vedic language in the Śikṣā which is a Vedāṅga (see also Notes 9 and 18 below).

NOTE 9. *So'dīrṇaḥ*. The peculiar sandhi observeable here *saḥ + udīrṇaḥ*) has been supported by Pāṇini (*so'ci lope cet pādapūraṇam*. VI. 1. 134). According to the Kāśikā this sūtra relates to the foot of a Ṛk (*iha Ṛk-pāda eva gṛhyate*). Hence this also is an indication of the archaic language of the PŚ. (see also Notes 8 and 20).

NOTE 9. *Varṇān*, the speech-sounds (see Note 14 below).

NOTE 10. *Janayate*. The use of Ātmanepada in this verb as opposed to that of Parasmaipada in PŚ. 4 deserves to be noted. But the meaning in both the cases is almost similar.

NOTE 11. *Svarataḥ*. The word *svara* in this place means pitch accents, such as udātta, anudātta and svarita. The translator of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad in the S. B. E. series once translated this word as 'syllable' (I. 4). This is indefensible.

NOTE 12. *Prayatna*. This word means 'primary (*pra* = forward) effort' (*yatna*). Patañjali, however does not seem to be willing to allow such an interpretation (on Pāṇini, I. 1. 9, ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, pp. 61f.) But as he has objected to it from a different stand-point we can well have our interpretation. For in articulating speech-sounds, first of all we adjust the different parts of the mouth. This adjustment as opposed to setting the vocal chords to action (which has been termed as *anupradāna*) has been

1 For a searching enquiry into the meaning of Chandas as used by Pāṇini, see Dr. Paul Thieme's 'Pāṇini and Veda', Allahabad, 1935, especially pp. 67ff.

justly called *prayatna*. This *prayatna* is included in the *āsya-prayatna* of the Aṣṭādhyāyī (I. 1. 9). *Āsya* in this work means 'the place of articulation (*sthāna*) in the mouth' (*āsya*). The use of *āsya* instead of *sthāna* has been meant for brevity (*lāghava*): prolixity should always be guarded against in a sūtra. The *prayatna* in *āsya-prayatna* has been identified with the *ābhyantara-prayatna* by Bhaṭṭoji-dīkṣita (on Pāṇini I. 1. 9). According to him it is of four kinds: *spṛṣṭa, īṣat-spṛṣṭa, saṃvṛta* and *vivṛta*. As opposed to the *ābhyantara-prayatna*, he has *bāhya-prayatna*, which is another name for Pāṇini's *anupradāna*, which according to Patañjali consists of the following: *vivāra, saṃvāra, śvāsa, nāda,* (*ghoṣatā, aghoṣatā*)[1], *alpa-prāṇa* and *mahā-prāṇa* (on P. I. 1. 9) Kaiyyaṭa adds to this three more: *udātta, anudātta* and *svarita*, and Bhaṭṭoji follows the latter in this matter (S. Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 9). The use of two different sets of derivatives of the root *vṛ* (such as *saṃvṛta, vivṛta* and *saṃvāra, vivāra*) in the classification of both kinds of efforts is not happy. Nevertheless it can be justified; for in the case of the *ābhyantara-prayatna*, the root *vṛ* relates to space between the two parts of the mouth, which touching or coming very close to each other, produce speech-sounds; while in the case of the *bāhya-prayatna*, it relates to the vocal passage where vocal chords are situated.

The fact that Patañjali and his successors use *ābhyantara-* and *bāhya-prayatna* instead of simple *prayatna* and *anupradāna* demands some notice. A change of practice in this matter probably points to the advance of phonetic studies which evidently took place during the time that elapsed between Pāṇini and Patañjali. Some of the early Prātiśākhyas such as the APr. and TPr. were written in this period (see Introduction, §24).

1. *Ghoṣatā* and *aghoṣatā* are simply synonymous to *nāda* and *śvāsa* respectively. Later grammarians however have taken *ghoṣatā* and *aghoṣatā* as something other than *śvāsa* and *nāda*. Evidently a marginal gloss crept into the Mahābhāṣya as early as Candragomin (c. 600 A. C.), who in his Varṇa-Sūtras has imitated this in using expressions like *nādānupradānā ghoṣavantaḥ* and [a]-*nādānupradānā aghoṣavantaḥ*. The mistake involved in the superfluous use of terms has been detected neither by Candragomin or any of his successors like Kaiyyaṭa or Bhaṭṭoji-dīkṣita.

Prātiśākhyas very rarely use the terms prayatna and anupradāna. The APr. never uses prayatna, but anupradāna is used in it once (I. 12). In the ṚPr. each of these terms occurs once (XIV. 10 ; XIII. 1). In the VPr. prayatna occurs once (I. 43) and anupradāna never. TPr. coins a new word *karaṇa* for prayatna (II. 32, 34, 45 ; XXIII. 6) and uses prayatna once (XVII. 6, 7), but in the next occasion (XXIII. 2) uses for it the word *karaṇa-vinaya* (adjustment of different articulating organs.) Other Prātiśākhyas too use the term *karaṇa* (*e.g.*, APr. I. 18; VPr. I. 75; ṚPr. VI. 8). Whitney's translation of prayatna simply as 'effort' is vague. Weber's translation of the word as 'Mundbewegung' is however more accurate. Anupradāna is twice used in the TPr. (II. 8 ; XXIII. 2). The disuse into which prayatna gradually fell seems to have caused the substitution of its radical sense 'first effort' by the more generalized sense 'effort' which without any adjective did not distinguish between the primary (*ābhyantara*) and the secondary (*bāhya*) efforts. As unambiguity and precision of terms is an essential condition in scientific discussion, the post-Pāṇinian phoneticians almost gave up the old terminology and had new terms like *ābhyantara*-prayatna and *bāhya*-prayatna for the simple prayatna and anupradāna respectively.

NOTE 13. *Anupradāna.* The term as we have seen above is equivalent to 'after-effort' or 'secondary effort', which means stiffening or loosening of vocal chords. Whitney translates this as 'emission' (APr. I. 12 ; TPr. XXIII. 2) and Weber has rendered it by 'Ausstossung' (Ind. Stud. IV, p. 107). Dr. Siddheshwar Varma translates this as 'sound-material', or 'breath-voice material' (*op. cit.*, pp. 3, 9); but such translations though not altogether incorrect are not happy. Whitney, Weber and Varma all seem to have missed the etymological implication of the word. The author of the Śikṣā-prakāśa however extends the meaning of anupradāna which according to him includes nasality too (p. 29). This evident innovation seems to have justification from the separate mention of anunāsikas in PS. 17b. (For other points regarding this word see above the Note 12 on prayatna).

NOTE 14. *Iti varṇa-vidaḥ prāhuḥ.* So said those who were versed in the lore of (pronouncing) the speech-sounds. This evidently shows that there were other masters of phonetics (Śaikṣikas) before Pāṇini wrote his Śikṣā. This hemistich does not appear in the AP. It is possible like the PŚ. 14 it has been left out (see Note 28 below). *Varṇa* also means a 'written sign' representing a speech-sound (see Th. Goldstücker, 'Pāṇini : his place in Skt. literature', London, 1861, pp. 34ff.).

The theory of producing speech-sounds as given here recognizes three principal places of articulation : chest (*uras*), throat (*kaṇṭha*) and the roof of the mouth (*śiras*). Patañjali too while explaining *catvāri śṛṅgā*, etc., interprets *tridhā baddhaḥ* as *triṣu sthāneṣu baddhaḥ* : *urasi kaṇṭhe śirasīti.* (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 3)

From the fivefold division of speech-sounds mentioned in the PŚ. 7 we may well expect that each class of sounds will be discussed next one after another. But authors of the inflated versions such as Ṛk., Yaj., Pñj. and Prk. recensions without paying any heed to this fact have interspersed passages (treating five divisions) with couplets from different sources.

Udāttaś cānudāttaś ca svaritaś ca svarās trayaḥ ।
hrasvo dīrghaḥ pluta iti kālato niyamā aci ॥ (11)

Tr. There are three kinds of (pitch) accent : udātta, anudātta, and svarita. Among vowels short, long and pluta varieties are distinguished by their time (of articulation) [11].

NOTE 15. *Aci. Ac* meaning vowels is a pratyāhāra of Pāṇini. The Yaj. recension reads PŚ. 8 as its 23rd couplet.

NOTE 16. The Prk., Yaj. and Ṛk recensions read the following couplet as the 11th, the 14th and the 2th respectively :—

Udātte niṣāda-gāndhārāv anudātta ṛṣabha-dhaivatau ।
svarita-prabhavā hy ete ṣaḍja-madhyama-pañcamāḥ ॥ (12) ॥

12. Of the seven musical notes *niṣāda* and *gāndhāra* can arise in the high pitch (udātta), *ṛṣabha* and *dhaivata* in the low pitch (anudātta), while

ṣaḍja, *madhyama* and *pañcama* have their source in the medium pitch (svarita).

This couplet occurs in the Nār. Ś. (I. 8. 8) and seems to be original to it ; for this work belonging to the Sāma Veda has a direct concern with an elaborate theory of seven musical notes. Besides this the fact that the couplet has been composed in the Āryā metre while the passages common to all recensions are in the Anuṣṭubh seems to create a presumption in favour of its spurious character with reference to the PŚ. Its absence from the AP. as well as uncertain position in other versions probably strengthens this presumption. Hence this has not been included in the reconstructed text.

Aṣṭau sthānāni varṇānām uraḥ kaṇṭhaḥ śiras tathā ।
jihvā-mūlaṃ ca dantāś ca nāsikôṣṭhau ca tālu ca ॥ (13)

Tr. The speech-sounds have eight places (of articulation) : chest, throat, roof of the mouth (*lit.* head), root of the tongue, teeth, nostril, lips and palate [13].

NOTE 17. The ṚPr. and TPr. do not recognize any pure dental sound and they place most of the dentals at the root of the teeth and according to the ṚPr. *urasya* (*lit.* from chest) sounds are existent only in the opinion of others (I. 18). The other Prātiśākhyas admit *dantā-mūla* as an additional place of articulation (For details see the Table II).

NOTE 18. The Pañjikā does not comment on the two following couplets. They seem to be irrelevant in the position they occur in the AP., Prk., Yaj. and Ṛk recensions. But they occur in the Nār. Ś. (II. 5. 4. 9), Yv. Ś. (143-114) and Māṇḍ. Ś. (107-109) too.

O-bhāvaś ca vivṛttiś ca śa-ṣa-sā repha eva ca ।
jihvā-mūlam upadhmā ca gatir aṣṭa-vidhôṣmaṇaḥ ॥ 14 ॥

Yady o-bhāva-prasandhānam ukārâdi-paraṃ padam ।
svarântaṃ tādṛśaṃ vidyād yad anyad vyaktam ūṣmaṇaḥ ॥ 15 ॥

Tr. Ūṣmans (spirants) have eight ways (of development) : change to *o*, hiatus, *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, r, jihvāmūlīya and upadhmānīya [14].

When a word ending in *o* (out of an ūṣman) is followed by another word beginning with *u*, the former should be considered as ending in a vowel coming from an ūṣman [15].

a. These two couplets, though probably not belonging to the PŚ., seem to be very old. On the antiquity of the first (14), see B. Liebich, 'Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft,' II. § 22. The second couplet is not quite intelligible. Weber is willing to read *akārâdi* against *ukārâdi* of all MSS. (Ind. Stud. IV, p. 352).

b. The APr. according to its commentator recognizes four ūṣmans *ś*, *ṣ*, *s* and *h* (I. 31). The VPr. (I. 51). has also the same number. The TPr. adds χ and ϕ to these and has six (I. 9). The ṚPr. has recognized two more: *ḥ* and *ṃ*, making altogether eight ūṣmans (I. 10, 12). The reckoning of anusvāra as an ūṣman seems to be very strange.

Hakāraṃ pañcamair yuktam antaḥsthābhiś ca saṃyutam ।
aurasyaṃ taṃ vijānīyāt kaṇṭhyam āhur asaṃyutam ॥ (16)

Tr. When combined with nasal stops (*lit.* fifth ones) and semivowels, *ḥ* should be known (as arising) from the chest; while *h* not so combined is said to be from the throat [16].

NOTE 19. This couplet stands in a wrong place in the Yaj. recension, and the Pañjikā has not commented on it. Besides this it is missing in some MSS. of the AP. Still we have considered it to be belonging to the original PŚ. on the following grounds: (*i*) *Uras* according to the PŚ. 9 is a place of articulation for some of the speech-sounds, (*ii*) Indigenous Pali grammarians too have recognized some sounds as *aurasa* (Pali, *orasa* sounds; Minayeff, PGr. p. 2; Geiger, Pāli Lit. und Spr., p. 41), (*iii*) This couplet PŚ. 10 occurs also in late Śikṣās such as the Lomaśī Ś. (V.9), the Varṇaratna-pradīpikā Ś. (26) and the Yv. Ś. (177). Considering the position of this couplet in these works it does not seem to be possible that it originally belonged to them. The ṚPr. (I. 18) and the ṚT (II. 3) too recognize *urasya* sounds.

NOTE 20. *Antaḥsthābhiś ca*. Its feminine gender creates difficulty in construing this with 'varṇa' (masc.) or 'akṣara' (neut.)

in the instrumental plural [understood]. This difficulty was felt by some redactor who changed the expression to *antaḥsthaiś cápi*. But the genuine original reading might well have been **antaḥsthebhiś ca*, and the late redactor probably finding this Chāndasa form unexplainable by the grammar of the classical Skt., which he thought to have been the language of the PŚ., changed it to *antaḥsthābhiś ca* and brought it within the control of the ordinary grammar, though the new difficulty which arose escaped his notice. The redactor of *antaḥsthaiś cápi* made it faultless and removed all trace of the assumed original.

Kaṇṭhyāv ahāv i-cu-yaśās tālavyā oṣṭhajā vu-pū ।
syur mūrdhanyā ṛ-ṭu-ra-ṣā dantyā ḷ-tu-la-sāḥ smṛtāḥ ॥ (17)

Jihvā-mūle tu kuḥ prokto dantyóṣṭhyo vaḥ smṛto budhaiḥ ।
e-ai tu kaṇṭha-tālavyā o-au kaṇṭhóṣṭhajau smṛtau ॥ (18)

Ardha-mātrā tu kaṇṭhyasya ekārâukārayor bhavet ।
aikārâukārayor mātrā tayor vivṛta-saṃvṛtam ॥ (19)

Tr. A and h are throat sounds; i, *cu* (*i.e.*, c, ch, j, jh and ñ) and ś are palatals; u and *pu* (*i.e.*, p, ph, b, bh and m) labials; ṛ, *ṭu* (*i.e.*, ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh and ṇ) and ṣ cerebrals; and ḷ, *tu* (*i.e.*, t, th, d, dh and n) and s are dentals [17].

Ku (*i.e.*, k, kh, g, gh and ṅ) is uttered from the root of the tongue, and v is a denti-labial sound; e and ai are throat-palatal, and o and au are throat-labial sounds [18].

The throat element of e and o is half a mātrā and of ai and au is (one) mātrā; these two latter (*i.e.*, ai and au) are open-close sounds (*i.e.*, their first half or the *a*-element is open and the second half or *i*- and *u*- element is close) [19].

Nóte 21. At the time of the Prātiśākhyas the speech-sounds of the Old Indo-Aryan did not all retain the places of articulation which they had at the time of Pāṇini.

Table II.

Places of articulation for speech-sounds of the OIA as given in the PŚ. and the Prātiśākhyas.

	uras	kaṇṭha	mūrdhan	jihvā-mūla	danta	danta-mūla	tālu	oṣṭha	kaṇṭha-tālu	kaṇṭha-oṣṭha	danta-oṣṭha	nāsikā	nāsikā *aiso*
PŚ.	[1] hṅ, hñ, hṇ, hn, hm, hy, hr, hl, hv	a, h,	ṛ ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh ṇ, r, ṣ	k, kh, g, gh, ṅ, χ[2]	ḷ t, th, d, dh, n, l, s		i c, ch, j, jh, ñ, y, ś.	u p, ph, b, bh, m, φ[2]	e, ai	o, au	v	*yamas*, ṃ	ṅ, ñ, ṇ, n, m
APr.		a, h, ḥ	ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, ṣ	ṛ ḷ[3] k, kh, g, gh, ṅ, χ	t, th, d, dh, n, l, s	r	i, e c, ch, j, jh, ñ, y, ś	u, o p, ph, b, bh, m, v	ai[4]	au[4]			*ditto*
VPr.	ḥ	a, h, ḥ	ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, ṣ	ṛ k, kh, g, gh, ṅ, χ	ḷ t, th, d, dh, n, l, s	r	i, e c, ch, j, jh, ñ, y, ś	u, o p, ph, b, bh, m, φ	ai	au	v		*ditto*
ṚPr.		a, h, ḥ[5]	ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, ṣ	ṛ k, kh, g, gh, k, χ ḍ, ḷ[6]		r t, th, d, dh, n, l, s	i, e, ai c, ch, j, jh, ñ, y, ś	u, c, au p, ph, b, bh, m, v, φ					*ditto*
TPr[7].		h, ḥ	ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, ṣ	k, kh, g, gh, ṅ, χ		r t, th, d, dh, n, l, s	c, ch, j, jh, ñ, y, ś	p, ph, b, bh, m, φ			v		*ditto*
ṚT.	ḥ,	a, ḥ, h	ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, ṣ	ṛ k, kh, g, gh, ṅ, χ	t, th, d, dh, l, s	r	i, e, ai[8] c, ch, j, jh, ñ, y, ś	u, o, au p, ph, b, bh, m, φ, v				*yamas*, ṃ	*ditto*

[1] H in combination with ṅ, ñ, ṇ, n, m, y, r, l and v is pronounced in *uras*. [2] The PŚ. does not know any mūrdhanya l or lh. This sound is probably a later development due to Dravidian influence (See Introduction § §29, 30). [3] The APr. does not mention the place of articulation of this sound. However the commentator informs us of its articulation. [4] See APr. I. 41. and its commentary on the same. [5] The Ṛ Pr. says that h and ḥ are *aurasya* according to others (I. 18). Probably the same authorities place r, l and s in vartsya (I. 20). [6] According to the ṚPr. Vedamitra is the authority who considers ḍ, ḍh, ḷ and ḷh, (usually known as cerebral l and lh) as the jihvāmūlīya sounds (I. 21,22). [7] The TPr. is silent about the places of articulation for vowels. [8] Ai does not appear in the sūtra 5 of ṚT. but it might be due to the corruption of the MSS. As this sound has not been discussed elsewhere in this work we are sure that it existed here.

For details of this variation see the Table II in which views of Prātiśākhyas have been compared with that of the PS.

Among these, typical is the case of ṛ and r. According to the Prātiśākhyas the first is velar, while they are not unanimous about r. But Pāṇini considers r to be cerebral (Siddheshwar Varma, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7). The fact that ṛ and r cerebralize, according to Pāṇini (VIII. 4.1) as well as the Prātiśākhyas (ṚPr. V. 11, 20; VPr. III. 85; TPr. XIII. 6-7), the dental sounds that follow them, shows that these sounds were originally cerebral, and Pāṇini testifies to the original state rather than the Prātiśākhyas which have r as a dental or an alveolar sound.

NOTE 22. *Cu.* It indicates c, ch, j, jh and ñ. Appending *u* to the first sound of the groups (*vargas*) of stop consonants for indicating all the five members is a Pāṇinian device used in the Aṣṭādhyāyī (*aṇudit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ*, I. 1. 69)[1]. *Pu*, *ṭu*, *tu* and *ku* have been similarly used.

NOTE 23. *Ardha-mātrā tu*, etc. This couplet (PS. 13) has suffered very badly in transmission, and its second half does not occur in the AP. Uvaṭa in his comments on the VPr. I. 73, has wrongly quoted its first half as *ardhamātrā tu kaṇṭhasya aikāraukārayor*. It appears that the s a n d h y a k ṣ a r a s (diphthongs) e and o having lost their diphthongal character in later times[2] this couplet became unintelligible and gave rise to variants of perplexing nature. Weber's reading *kaṇṭhasyaikāraukārayor* spoils the metre, but his conjectural emendation (in translation) of *aikāraukārayor* was a very happy suggestion and finds actual support from the Pañjikā (p. 18). His reading *madhye e-ai* for *mātrā tayor* however cannot be accepted, for it has evidently arisen due to a misunderstanding.

[1] It is on the basis of Pāṇini's use of *pratyāhāras* that Dr. Paul Thieme makes the statement that "it is self-evident that the Aṣṭādhyāyī presupposes the Śiva Sūtras and the Śiva Sūtras presuppose the Aṣṭādhyāyī......" (*op. cit.*, p. 109). The PS. can well be substituted for the 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' in this remark.

[2] See Note 1, in p. 64.

All the sandhyakṣaras[1] being long, consist of two mātrās (ṚPr. I. 16; VPr. 1. 57; TPr. I. 35; APr. I. 61). Hence from PŚ. 13 we have the quantitative distribution of the two elements of e, o and ai, au as follows :

in	e ($< a + i$)	*a* is $\frac{1}{2}$	mātrā[1] and	*i* is $1\frac{1}{2}$	mātrā
,,	o ($< a + u$)	*a* ,, $\frac{1}{2}$	,, ,,	*u* ,, $1\frac{1}{2}$	,,
,,	ai ($< \bar{a} + i$)	*a* ,, 1[2]	,, ,,	*i* ,, 1	,,
,,	au ($< \bar{a} + u$)	*a* ,, 1	,, ,,	*u* ,, 1	,,

NOTE 24. The Ṛk recension reads the following couplet after PŚ. 12. This does not occur in the AP. and Yaj. recensions, and none of the two commentaries comment on it. Hence we have considered it to be spurious.

Saṃvṛtam mātrikaṃ jñeyaṃ, vivṛtaṃ tu dvimātrikam ।
ghoṣā vā saṃvṛtāḥ sarve, aghoṣā vivṛtāḥ smṛtāḥ ॥20॥

Tr. A saṃvṛta (close) sound is one mātrā long, and a vivṛta (ope) sound is two mātrās long ; voiced sounds are all saṃvṛta while breathed ones are vivṛta [20].

This couplet like other spurious couplets discussed above must be a a borrowing from some unknown source. But the substance of the second half of the couplet occurs in the TPr. (*saṃvṛta-kaṇṭhe nādaḥ kriyate, vivṛte śvāsaḥ* II. 4-5).

[1] Wackernagel (I. § 32), does not admit that all e and o in OIA were *originally* sandhyakṣaras, *i.e.*, combination of two vowel sounds. His objection is based on e and o not arising out of actual sandhi in OIA. But the Vedic phoneticians in using the term evidently recalled the Indo-Iranian diphthongal character of e and o such as appears in Av. *vaedā* (Skt. *véda*) and Av. *zaothra* (Skt. *hótra*), as well as e and o arising from a combination of a with and u respectively.

[2] The VPr. (I. 76) only among all the Prātiśākhyas expressly recognizes the fact that ai and au have one mātrā for *a* and one mātrā for *i* as well as *u*. From the direction as to the production of ai and au given in the APr. (I. 41) it appears that this latter work too agrees with the PŚ. But as regards the pronunciation of e and o the APr. expressly says that they have only one place of articulation (I. 40) and hence we are to understand that at the time of this Prātiśākhya, e and o no longer retained the trace of their diphthongal character which we see in the PŚ. 13. The VPr. is silent about the production of e and o. The ṚPr. in its attempt to describe their nature simply mystifies the issue (see XIII. 15-16) Hence it appears that the Prātiśākhyas in question are later than the PŚ.

NOTE 25. Next occurs the following couplet in the Ṛk and the Yajus recensions and it has been commented on in the Prakāśa commentary. But as it appears irrelevant in the present context and contains the term *karaṇa* which as we have seen before is a term of later origin than Pāṇini (see Note 12) we have considered this couplet to be spurious.

Svarāṇām ūṣmaṇāṃ caiva vivṛtaṃ karaṇaṃ smṛtam ।
tebhyo'pi vivṛtāv eṅau tābhyām aicau tathaiva ca ॥ (21)

Tr. Vowels and sibilants are open in enunciation ; e and o are more open than they, and ai and au are still more so [21].

NOTE 26. This couplet like other spurious ones must be a borrowing from some unknown source. The substance of the first half of the couplet is available in the APr. *ūṣmaṇāṃ vivṛtaṃ ca, svarāṇāṃ ca*, I. 31. 32). But according to this Prātiśākhya, *e* and *o* as well as *ā* are the most open sounds (*aikārâukārayor vivṛtatamam, tato'pyâkārasya* I. 34. 35) and not *ai*, *au* as in the present couplet.

Anusvāra-yamānāṃ ca nāsikā sthānam ucyate ।
upadhmānīya ūṣmā ca jihvā-mūlīya-nāsike ।
ayogavāhā vijñeyā āśraya-sthāna-bhāginaḥ ॥ (22)

Tr. Anusvāra and yamas have the nose for their place (of articulation); upadhmanīya, ūṣman (*i.e.*, visarjanīya), jihvāmūlīya as well as nāsikyas (*i.e.* the anusvāra and yamas) are ayogavāhas and as such they share the place of articulation of sounds on which they are dependent [22].

NOTE 26a. The hemistich *anusvāra-yamānāṃ ca* etc., does not occur in the Yaj. and the AP. recensions (see Introduction § 2). As anusvāra and yamas have been mentioned earlier in the PŚ. (1-2) we have to consider this as belonging to the original text.

NOTE 27. *Anusvāra*. The 'anusvāra-nāsikyaḥ' and 'anusvāraḥ nāsikyaḥ' seem to have been synonymous and probably the original name for anusvāra by which the TPr. (I. 34 ; II. 30 ; XVII. 1) understands only a nasal vowel. This meaning of the term was known to the author of Pañjikā too. For he says *svaram anu bhavati ity anusvāraḥ*, 'as it arises after the vowel it is (called) the'anusvāra' (5).

The term anusvāra-nāsikya has sometimes been shortened also simply as *nāsikya* or *nāsika*. But this shortening seems to have created some misunderstanding. For example, in the APr. (I. 26)[1] and in the ṚPr. (I. 20) nāsikya has been used to denote sounds pronounced directly from the nose (*i.e.* yamas and the anusvāra)[2] as opposed to anunāsikas (nasal stops)[3] which are pronounced in the mouth as well as in the nose (APr. I. 27 and P. I. 1. 8). But in spite of such an use of nāsikya some interpolators and commentators of the Prātiśākhyas have taken anusvāra and nāsikya[4] to be two different sounds (VPr. VIII[5] 25, 27, 29; Uvaṭa on VPr. I. 74; Māhiṣeya on TPr. I. 18). But curiously enough in his commentary to the ṚPr. I. 20, Uvaṭa has explained nāsikya as the term including yamas and the anusvāra as well as *nāsikya*.[6] Though the later writers on Vedic phonetics at times differed from him about the meaning of the term anusvāra, Pāṇini understood by this a nasalized vowel. For he explains the anusvāra as a nasal sound (PŚ, 14) and gives directions as to how it should be correctly produced (PŚ, 15b-16a). The term 'nāsika' which is used to denote a nasalized vowel in the Prātiśākhya has also been used in the PŚ, (14b). Among the western philologists a controversy went on for some time about the correct pronunciation of anusvāra; but

1 The APr. never uses the term anusvāra. It is from the commentator that we learn that the nāsikya is equivalent to yama and anusvāra (see Whitney on APr. I. 26).

2 Similar is the view of Patañjali. On Pāṇini I. 1. 8, he says *atha mukha-grahaṇaṃ kim artham? nāsikā-vacano' nunāsika itīyaty ucyamāne yamānusvārāṇām eva prasajyeta. mukha grahaṇe punaḥ kriyamāṇe-na doṣo bhavati* (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 60).

3 The TPr. sometimes takes nāsikya in the sense of yama alone (XXI. 12, 14).

4 The view that anunāsika is equivalent to a nasalised vowel arose probably from a confusion of this word with a somewhat similarly sounded term *ānunāsikya* (=nasality) as used in the Mahābhāṣya, *yathā tṛīyās tathā pañcamā...adhiko guṇah* (ed. Kielhorn, I, p 61, line 18, 29). Patañjali is clearly against such a view (see Note 2 above). Among the old authorities who seem at times to identify anunāsika with a nasal vowel is APr. (I. 53). But the relevant sūtra has probably been corrupt. TPr. once understands by anunāsika nasal stops and anusvāra (II. 30. See also III. 129 ; IV. 3, 9, 13, 51, 90; TPr. V. 26-28, 31 ; X. 11(?), XV. 1. 6 ; XXII. 14).

5 Weber considers this chapter of the VPr. as a later addition (*opp, cit.*, p. 65).

6 *ke te nāsikyāḥ? ity asyām apekṣāyām āha nāsikyā yamānusvārāḥ* (ed. Sāmaśramī, p. 80).

among them all Whitney, in spite of the bewildering opinions of the Prātiśākhyas or rather the commentaries of such works, could correctly guess the true pronunciation (on TPr. II. 30). Wackernagel however considered him to be mistaken[1] and Thumb[2] did not venture to give any opinion on the matter.

NOTE 28. *Upadhmānīya ūṣmā ca* etc. This hemistich does not occur in the Ṛk and AP. recensions. Still, upadhmānīya and visarga being mentioned in the PŚ, 2,[3] we can reasonably expect the treatment of their mode of articulation in the Śikṣā. Hence we have considered this hemistich as a genuine part of the PŚ (see Introduction, § 2b). One of the reasons why it came to be ignored in the Ṛk recension is probably to be sought in the varying later uses of the term ūṣman which in this context surely means visarga[4] or the final aspiration preceded by a vowel (-ḥ). This term meaning visarga as well as final *h* occurs in the Ṛk Pr. (I. 22; II. 4). In the VPr. (I. 54), the APr. (I. 20), the Ṛktantra (16) as well as in some other part of the ṚPr. (I. 13) the term *sōṣman* has been used to indicate aspirated stops. It seems that by the earlier *ācāryas* visarga as well as aspirated stops, due to their almost similar nature, was included in the term ūṣman. Pāṇini, however, does not use this term because in his grammar, his pratyāhāras evidently served the purpose. By this term the TPr. however means ś, ṣ, s, h, χ and ϕ (I. 9), and curiously enough the ṚPr. also means by the term same sounds in I. 12; and in the Chapter VIII (considered to be a late addition by Weber) of the VPr. we understand by the term ś, ṣ, s and h (sūtra 22, ed. Weber).

NOTE 29. *Ayogavāha*. This term has been variously explained, and Weber felt a difficulty over its correct interpretation

1 Altindische Grammatik, Vol. I (§ 223), p. 257. In the opinion of Prof. Lüders the anusvāra of the TPr. is anything but a nasal vowel (see Die Vyāsa-Çikshā, p. 51).

2 Handbuch des Sanskrit, § 54.

3 This couplet occurs in all the recensions of the PŚ, and must have formed a part of the original work.

4 Weber, Ind. Stud., IV, pp. 112, 325, also VIII, p. 212.

(*op. cit.*, p. 354). According to the Pañjikā it means (15) *na vidyate yogaḥ varṇāntareṇa yeṣām te ayogavāhāḥ*: Those sounds which do not combine with other sounds are ayogavāhas. This definition does not convey any meaning to us. Uvaṭa says *akārādinā varṇa-samāmnāyena saṃhitāḥ santaḥ etc vahanty ātmalābhaṃ prāpnuvanty ayogavāhāḥ* (on VPr. VIII. 8): They are ayogavāhas because they attain their selves when combined with sounds like *a* (*i.e.* vowels). Similar is the view of the commentator of the Pratijñā Sūtra on II. 1 (see Benares ed.). This explanation too does not satisfy us and seems to be rather fanciful. Patañjali who is earlier and more authoritative than the writers mentioned above defines the term as *yad ayuktā vahanty anupadiṣṭāś ca śrūyante* (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 28): 'Those sounds which are heard even though they have not been included in the Varṇa-samāmnāya (or the so-called Śiva-sūtras).' Besides these there are other interpretations of the term by late authorities, but it will scarcely be of any use to discuss them. The explanation given by Patañjali can be followed without any scruple.

Alābu-vīṇā-nirghoṣo'danta-mūlyaḥ svarānugaḥ ।
anusvāras tu kartavyo nityaṃ hroḥ śa-ṣa-seṣu ca ॥ (23)

Tr. The anusvāra after the vowels not pronounced at the root of the teeth, should be made sonorous like the sound of an *alābu-vīṇā*, but when it stands before h, ś, ṣ and s this pronunciation is compulsory [23].

NOTE 30. All the recensions except the AP. contain the above couplet. The anusvāra being a frequent sound in Vedas and the classical Skt. it appears very much likely that Pāṇini gave attention to it. Besides this for interpreting *śaṣaseṣu ca* we must invoke the help of Pāṇini's Paribhāṣā *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya* (I. 1. 66). This also may be taken to show that this couplet belongs to the original PS.

NOTE 31. From this passage we derive a hint about an alternative pronunciation which the anusvāra had before stops. This alternative pronunciation has been provided for by Pāṇini in his grammar (*anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ, vā padāntasya.* VIII. 4. 58,59)[1] and it is equivalent to the pronunciation of what according to Prof. S. K. Chatterji is a 'reduced' nasal occurring also in the late Middle Indo-Aryan (*op. cit.*, p. 360).

NOTE 32. *Nirghoṣo' danta-mūlya* should be taken as *nirghoṣo* +*adantamūlya*.

NOTE 33. The next couplet occurs in the Ṛk recension only.

Anusvāre vivṛtyāṃ tu virāme cākṣara-dvaye ।
dvir oṣṭhau tu vigṛhṇīyād yatrâukāra-vakārayoḥ ॥ (24)

Tr. In the anusvāra, hiatus, virāma and double consonant the two lips should be separated as also in case of au and v [24].

NOTE 34. This couplet has been taken from the Lomaśī S. (III. 7) where it is fully relevant. The reading *atraukāra* in the Ṛk recension is evidently corrupt. Due to this corrupt reading Weber had a difficulty over the passage (*op. cit.*, p. 361). The following couplet occurs next in the Ṛk recension. In the Yaj. it is no. 20. The Prakāśa comments on it though the Pañjikā passes over it, and some versions of AP. does not know it.

Vyāghrī yathā haret putrān daṃṣṭrābhyāṃ na ca pīḍayet ।
bhītā patana-bhedābhyāṃ tadvad varṇān prayojayet ॥ (25)

Tr. As the tigress carries her cubs between two (rows of) teeth taking care lest they should either be dropped or bitten, so should one pronounce the (Vedic) speech-sounds lest they should be dropped (*i.e.* elided) or differentiated (*i.e.* mis-pronounced) [25].

There is pun in the words *patana* and *bheda*. The fact that the couplet mentions the dropping of varṇas in the Vedic recitation shows that the upper limit to the date of the composition of the couplet is *c.* 200 B. C. when the

1 'The anusvāra followed by consonants other than *ś, ṣ, s* and *h* is changed to the *savarṇa* (homogeneous nasal sound) of the following sound; the possible homogeneous sounds in the above case are *ṅ, ñ, ṇ, n* and *m*. This rule is optional when the anusvāra stands at the end of a word.'

tendency. to drop intervocal stops as in the so-called Mahārāṣṭrī or the late phase of Śaurasenī,[1] was already beginning. This couplet occurs in the Yv. Ś. (195) and the Māṇḍūkī Ś. (43) too. We are not sure whether it originally belonged to the Yv. Ś. or the Māṇḍ. Ś, but it is sure that the couplet did not form a part of the PŚ. which may go back to a time earlier than 500 B. C. (see Introduction, § 36).

NOTE 35. The following couplet occurs next in the Ṛk recension and in the Yāj. recension it is no. 6. Of the two commentaries, only the Prakāśa touches it. AP. omits it.

Yathā Saurāṣṭrikā nārī takrā̐ ity abhibhāṣate ।
evaṃ raṅgāḥ prayoktavyāḥ khearā̐ iva khedayā ॥ (26)

The couplet as it stands in the Ṛk and the Yaj. recension and in the Prakāśa seems to be corrupt. The true reading may be that of the Nār. Ś. The Māṇḍ. Ś. and the Yv. Ś. gives the couplet in a developed form[2] The purport of the couplet in all the above different forms is that the raṅga is the nasalization of a vowel.

NOTE 36. Next occur the four following couplets in the Ṛk recension only.

Raṅga-varṇān prayuñjīran no graset pūrvam akṣaram ।
dīrgha-svaraṃ prayuñjīyāt paścān nāsikyam ācaret ॥ (27)

Tr. In pronouncing the raṅga sound one should not swallow up the preceding sound ; the preceding vowel should be uttered long and then the nasal sound should be uttered [27].

This couplet occurs in different Śikṣās. It is difficult to say where the couplet originally stood,[3] but it is sure that it came in the PŚ. from another source.

Hṛdaye caikamātras tu ardha-mātras tu mūrdhani ।
nāsikāyāṃ tathârdhaṃ ca raṅgasyaiva dvimātratā ॥ (28)

[1] See the present writer's 'Mahārāṣṭrī, a later phase of Śaurasenī,' Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta, XXIII (1933).

[2] In the Nār. Ś. (II. 4. 9) this couplet occurs with variants *nāry arāṃ ity, raṅgaḥ prayoktavyo Nāradasya mataṃ yathā*. In the Māṇḍ. Ś. (112) it occurs with the variants : *nārī arā̐ ity raṅgāḥ prayoktavyāḥ nakāra-parivivarjitā*. The Yv. Ś. (190) however reads it almost like the Māṇḍ. Ś.

[3] This couplet occurs in a slight different form in the Yv. Ś. (189) and the Lomaśi Ś. (I. 8). The Māṇḍ. Ś. 110 can also be compared with this.

Hṛdayād utkaṭe tiṣṭhan kāṃsyena samanusvaran ।
mārdavaṃ ca dvi-mātraṃ ca jaghanvā̆ 2 iti nidarśanam ॥ (29)

Tr. In the heart (*i.e.* chest) there should be one mātrā and half a mātrā in the roof of the mouth and another half in the nostril. These are two mātrās of a raṅga sound [28].[1]

A raṅga sound rising from (*lit.* existing in) the heart (*i.e.* chest) has a sound like that of the bellmetal (bronze), (and it has) softness and is two mātrās long. Its example is *jaghanvā̆* 2 [29][2].

Madhye tu kampayet kampam ubhau pārśvau samo bhavet ।
saraṅgaṃ kampayet kampaṃ rathīvéti nidarśanam ॥ (30)

Tr. The kampa should be made in the middle and its two sides should be made equal and the kampa should be accompanied by a raṅga. Its example is *rathīva* [30].

NOTE 37. The meaning of the passage is not clear. This couplet appearing only in the Ṛk recension and not being relevant with couplets which are undisputedly genuine we have considered it spurious. This, like other spurious passages, occur probably in some text not yet brought to light.

NOTE 38. Next occurs the following couplet which has not been commented on in the Panjikā though other recensions include it.

Evaṃ varṇāḥ prayoktavyā nâvyaktā na ca pīḍitāḥ ।
samyag-varṇa-prayogeṇa brahma-loke mahīyate ॥ (31)

Tr. The speech-sounds should be pronounced like this. On uttering them in the proper manner one attains elevation in the world of Brahman [31].

NOTE 38a. This couplet occurs in the Nār. S. (II. 8. 31) and also in the Māṇḍ. S. (44) and might have originally belonged to any of these works. It does not fit in with those stanzas of the PS. which occur in all recensions and are undoubtedly genuine.

[1] With the above couplet may be compared the Lomaśī S. I. 7. This passage seems to be corrupt.

[2] This couplet occurs in the Nār. S. (II. 4. 8) with some variation. In the Māṇḍ. S. (113) too this occurs in a varying form. Whatever be the true reading of the couplet it is sure the PS. in its original form did not contain it.

NOTE 39. In the Yaj. recension the above couplet is succeeded by the following one:

Abhyāsârthe drutāṃ vṛttiṃ prayogârthe tu madhyamām ।
śiṣyāṇām upadeśârthe kuryād vṛttiṃ vilambitām ॥ (31a)

Tr. In memorizing the Vedas one should make his reading quick but in applying the same in rituals the recitation should be of medium speed, while at the time of instructing pupils, the Vedic passages should be recited slowly [31a].

NOTE 39a. This couplet occurs in the Nār. Ś. (I. 6, 21) and Yv. Ś. (54) and in a slightly different form it occurs also in the Māṇḍ. Ś. (3). It seems that the couplet occurred originally in the Nār. Ś.

NOTE 40. The next six couplets occur in the Ṛk recension only. They are being taken up serially.

Gītī śīghrī śiraḥ-kampī tathā likhita-pāṭhakaḥ ।
Anarthajño 'lpa-kaṇṭhaś ca ṣaḍ ete pāṭhakâdhamāḥ ॥ (32)
Mādhuryam akṣara-vyaktiḥ padacchedas tu susvaraḥ ।
dhairyaṃ laya-samarthaṃ ca ṣaḍ ete pāṭhake guṇāḥ ॥ (33)

Tr. Those who recite the Veda in a singsong manner, (too) quickly, with a nodding of the head, use a written text at the time of recitation do not know the meaning of passages read, and have a low voice, are six kinds of bad reciters. Sweetness, clearness, separation of words, right accent, patience and ability to observe time are six merits in a reciter [32-33].

NOTE 40a. These two couplets occur in the Yv. Ś. (198-199) and seem to have occurred there for the first time.

Śaṅkitaṃ bhītam udghuṣṭam avyaktam anunāsikam ।
kāka-svaraṃ śirasigaṃ tathā sthāna-vivarjitam ॥ (34)

NOTE 41. In the Nār. Ś. (I. 3. 11-12) this couplet together with another enumerates the fourteen faults of the Vedic chant. A translation of the two couplets are given below.

Shyness, fear, extreme loudness, indistinctness, undue nasalisation, repressed tone, undue cerebralization, non-observance of the places of articulation (in general) and (proper) accent [34], and

harshness, creating undue separation between words, uneven tone hastiness, want of due palatalisation: these are the fourteen faults in the Vedic chant.

NOTE 41a. These two couplets occur also in the Yv. Ś. (26-28) but they relate there to faults of recitation (*pāṭha-doṣa*) instead of the faults in chant (*gīti-doṣa*) of the Nār. Ś. But as the couplets in this latter work have been preceded by the expression *bhavanti cā' tra ślokāḥ* they are surely quoted there from some earlier work. It is probable that the couplets in question occurred in the Yv. Ś. first.

Upāṃśu daṣṭaṃ tvaritaṃ nirastaṃ
vilambitaṃ gadgaditaṃ pragītam ।
niṣpīḍitaṃ grasta-padākṣaraṃ ca
vaden na dīnaṃ na tu sānunāsyam ॥ (35)
Prātaḥ paṭhen nityam uraḥ-sthitena
svareṇa śārdūla-rutôpamena ।
madhyan-dine kaṇṭha-gatena caiva
cakrâhva-saṃkūjita-sannibhena ॥ (36)
Tāraṃ tu vidyāt savane tṛtīye
śiro-gataṃ tac ca sadā prayojyam ।
mayūra-haṃsânyabhṛta-svarāṇāṃ
tulyena nādena śiraḥ-sthitena ॥ (37)

Tr. One should not recite a Vedic passage in under-tone, between one's teeth, quickly, haltingly, slowly, with a hoarse voice, in a sing-song manner, with repressed voice, omitting (occasionally) words and syllables and in a plaintive voice [35].

In the morning (the Vedic student) should read (mantras) with a voice from the chest, which should be (as deep-toned) as the growl of a tiger. In the midday he should read it with voice from his throat, which should be like that of a *cakravāka*. In the third *savana* (*i.e.* the evening offering) he should recite it in the highest pitch from the roof of his mouth and his voice should be like that of a peacock, goose or cuckoo [36-37].

NOTE 41b. These couplets occur also in the Māṇḍ. Ś. (41-42) but we are not sure whether they originally belonged to this work.

Aco'spṛṣṭā yaṇas tv īṣan nema-spṛṣṭāḥ śalaḥ smṛtāḥ ।
śeṣāḥ spṛṣṭā halaḥ proktā nibodhânupradānataḥ ॥ (38)

Tr. The vowels are without touch, semi-vowels slightly touched, ś, ṣ and s are half-touched sounds, and the remaining consonants are touched (*i.e.* stops) [38].

NOTE 42. The degree of touch in this connexion is with regard to the cavity of the mouth or rather the space between the two parts of the mouth which touch or approach each other before speech-sounds are produced.

Ñamo' anunāsikā nahro nādino ha-jhaṣaḥ smṛtāḥ ।
īṣan-nādā yaṇ-yaśaś ca śvāsinas tu kha-phādayaḥ ॥ (39)
Īṣac-chvāsāṃś caro vidyād gor-dhāmaitat pracakṣate ।

Tr. *Ñam* (*i.e.* ñ, ṅ, m, ṇ, and n) are produced through nose, and h except when it is combined with r ; and *jhas* (*i.e.*, gh, jh, ḍh, dh, bh) are voiced, semivowels (y, r, l, v) and *jas* (*i e.*, j, b, g, ḍ, d) slightly voiced, the group beginning with kh and ph (*i.e.*, kh, ch, ṭh, th and ph) breathed, *car* (*i.e.*, k, c, ṭ, t, p) slightly breathed. This has been called the basis of speech [39-40a].

NOTE 43. The hemistich 39a seems to have created difficulty from very early times. The Pañjikā (19) explains the passage first with the reading *ñamo* and this seems to be the right reading. The second reading discussed in it could not have been original in spite of its quoting Śaunaka's Ṛk-Prātiśākhya.

NOTE 44. In the Amoghanandinī, Ś. 40, we have *hakāro rephasaṃyukto nādir bhavati nityaśah* : 'h combined with r is always as a voiced sound. The true nature of the *nahro* has not been marked by the author of the Pañjikā. He seems to have been misled by a wrong apprehension of the testimony of the Amoghanandinī Ś.

NOTE 45. The terms *nādī*, *īṣannāda*, *śvāsī*, *īṣac-chāsa* stand for voiced aspirate, voiced non-aspirated, unvoiced aspirate, unvoiced non-aspirated respectively. The term *īṣan-nāda*

practically mean having *śvāsa* as well as *nāda* or *ubhayātmaka* *i.e.*, *śvāsa-nādātmaka*. Hence in the RPr. (XIII. 2) we have terms like *śvāsa*, *nāda* and *śvāsa-nāda*. The TPr. (II. 9) however uses *śvāsanāda* in case of *ha-kāra* and seems to describe it as a sound midway between voiced and unvoiced (II. 6) and at the same time calls it voiced (I. 13).

NOTE 46. The following couplet occurs in the Yaj. recension (33). The Ṛk recension gives only the first half of it.

Dākṣīputraḥ Pāṇinir yenedaṃ vyāhṛtaṃ bhuvi ‖ (40)
ratnabhūtam idaṃ śāstraṃ pṛthivyāṃ samprakāśitam (40a)

Tr. By Pāṇini, the son of Dākṣī, who has promulgated in this world this science which is as it were a jewel, has also revealed it to the world (for the first time) [40 40a].

NOTE 46a. The PS. has been called the *mūlāgama* in the Indian tradition (S. Varma, *op. cit.*, p. 5). This spurious verse which may be very old seems to follow this. There is scarcely any doubt about the importance attached to phonetics by the ancient Hindus. Patañjali too stresses the importance of the subject in the following terms: *tebhyas tatra sthāna-karaṇānupradānajñebhyo vaidikā śabdā upadiśyante* (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 5). 'Those who are acquainted with the places of articulation and manner of adjusting vocal organs accordingly were taught the Vedic text.'

NOTE 47. The following nine couplets occur in the Ṛk recension only:

Chandaḥ pādau tu vedasya hastau kalpo'tha paṭhyate ।
jyotiṣām ayanaṃ cakṣur niruktaṃ śrotram ucyate ‖ (41)
Śikṣā ghrāṇaṃ tu vedasya mukhaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ smṛtam ।
tasmāt sāṅgam adhītyaiva brahmaloke mahīyate ‖ (42)

Tr. (First) Metrics which is the two legs (of the Veda) is read and then the Kalpa which is its two hands. The Science of the Movement of luminaries (Astronomy) is its eyes, and the Nirukta is called its ears; the Sikṣā is the nose of the Veda, and Grammar is its mouth. It is for this reason that one studying the Veda with all its limbs (*i.e.* accessory studies) attains a high position in the realm of Brahman [41-42].

Udāttam ākhyāti vṛṣo'ṅgulīnāṃ
pradeśinī-mūla-niviṣṭa-mūrdhā ।
upānta-madhye svaritaṃ dhṛtaś ca
kaniṣṭhikāyām anudattam eva ॥ (43)

Tr. The top of the thumb when held at the root of the index finger indicates the udātta tone, and held at the middle of the ringfinger (*upānta* or last but one) and at (the middle of) the little finger it indicates respectively svarita and anudātta [43].

Udāttaṃ pradeśinīṃ vidyāt pracayaṃ madhyato'ṅgulim ।
nihataṃ tu kaniṣṭhikyāṃ svaritôpakaniṣṭhikām ॥ (44)

Tr. The index finger should be known as the udātta, the middle finger pracaya, the little finger as nihata and the ringfinger as svarita tone [44].

NOTE 47a. These two couplets have not been traced in any available Śikṣā.

Antôdāttam ādyudāttam udāttam anudāttaṃ nīca-svaritam ।
madhyôdāttaṃ svaritaṃ dvyudāttaṃ tryudāttam
iti nava-pada-śayyā ॥ (45)
Agniḥ somaḥ pra vo vīryam haviṣāṃ
svar Bṛhaspatir Indrā-Bṛhaspatī ।
Agnir ity antôdāttam, soma ity ādyudāttam, prêty
udāttam, va ity anudāttam, vīryaṃ nīca-svaritam ॥ (46)
Haviṣām madhyôdāttam, svar iti svaritam, Bṛhaspatir
iti dvyudāttam, Indrā-Bṛhaspatī iti tryudāttam ॥ (47)

Tr. There are nine kinds of accents in padas: antôdātta, ādyôdātta, udātta, anudātta, nīca-svarita, madhyôdātta, svarita, dyudātta, tryudātta. Examples of these are *Agniḥ, Somaḥ, pra, vo, vīryam, haviṣā, svaḥ, Bṛhaspatiḥ, Indrā-Bṛhaspatiḥ, (Agniḥ, Sómaḥ, prá, vo, vīryàṃ, havíṣā, svàr, Bṛ'haspátiḥ, I'ndrā-Bṛ'haspátiḥ)* [45-47].

NOTE 47b. This passage with slight variation occurs in the Nār.'S. (II. 7. 5. 6) and seems to be quite relevant there. It is almost certain that the Ṛk recension took it from there.

Anudātto hṛdi jñeyo mūrdhny udātta udāhṛtaḥ |
svaritaḥ karṇa-mūlīyaḥ, sarvāsye pracayaḥ smṛtaḥ ‖ (48)

Tr. Anudātta is to be known in the chest (*lit.* heart), udātta at the root of the ear, and pracaya in the entire mouth.

NOTE 47c. This passage has not been traced in any of the available Śikṣās. Perhaps it has been taken from some Ś. which has not yet come to light [48].

Cāṣas tu vadate mātrāṃ dvi-mātraṃ tv eva vāyasaḥ |
śikhī rauti tri-mātraṃ tu nakulas tv ardha-mātrakam ‖ (49)

Tr. The *cāṣa* gives out one mātrā and the crow two mātrās, the peacock three mātrās and the mungoose only half of a mātrā [49].

NOTE 47d. This passage occurs in the Lomaśī Ś. (VIII 9), the ṚPr. (XIII. 20) and with slight variation in the Yv. Ś. (15-16) and in the Māṇḍ. Ś. (138), but it seems to have occurred first in some of these Śikṣās and not in the PŚ.

NOTE 48. The following two couplets occur in the AP., Ṛk and Yaj. recensions, and the Prakāśa comments on them.

Kutīrthād āgataṃ dagdham apavarṇam ca bhakṣitam |
na tasya parimokṣo'sti pāpāher iva kilviṣāt ‖ (50)
Sutīrthād āgataṃ vyaktaṃ svāmnāyyaṃ suvyavasthitam |
susvareṇa suvaktreṇa prayuktaṃ brahma rājate ‖ (51)

Tr. In the repetition of that which has come from a bad ācārya, that which is indistinct (*lit.* burnt), mispronounced, from the faulty text there is no deliverance from its demerit as from the snake-like sin [50].

But in repeating with good accent and voice (*lit.* mouth) that which has come from a good ācārya, and is distinct, from the good text and is well established, the Veda shines [51].

NOTE 48a. These two couplets occur in the Nār. Ś. (II. 8. 10, 11) and the Māṇḍ. Ś. (160, 159). It seems that they occurred for the first time in the Nār. Ś.

NOTE 49. In the Yaj. and AP. recensions the following couplets occur after the passages given above.

Na karālo na lambȏṣṭho nāvyakto nānunāsikaḥ |
gadgado baddhajihvaś ca prayogān vaktum arhati ‖ (51a)

Tr. ' One ought not to repeat mantras with teeth shown, lips unduly protruded and with indistinct, unduly nasalised and half choked-up voice and immobile tongue [51a].

NOTE 49a. This couplet occurs in the NŚ. (II. 8. 12), the Māṇḍ. Ś. (156) and the Yv. Ś. (25). It seems to have occurred originally in any of these.

NOTE 50. The following couplet occurs in the Ṛk recension and the Pñj comments on it. Though the Prakāśa quotes it we are not sure whether the author reads it in the text of the Śikṣā. (For further notes on this point see below.)

Mantro hīnaḥ svarato varṇato vā
mithyā prayukto na tam artham āha ।
sa vāg-vajro yajamānaṃ hinasti
yathendraśatruḥ svarato 'parādhāt ॥ (52)

Tr. A mantra uttered either with a defective accent or pronunciation is badly done and it does not carry the proper sense. And it is like a thunderbolt of speech and kills the *yajamāna* just as 'Indraśatruḥ' did on account of its wrong accent [52].

NOTE 50a. This couplet occurs in the Nār. Ś. (I. 1. 5) and the Amoghanandinī Ś. (122). Besides this the couplet occurs in the Mahābhāṣya with a variant *duṣṭaḥ śabdaḥ* for *mantro hīnaḥ* (ed. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 2).

NOTE 51. The following couplet occurs next and in the Ṛk recension only.

Avākṣaram anāyuṣyaṃ visvaraṃ vyādhi-pīḍitam ।
akṣatā(ra?)-śastra-rūpeṇa vajraṃ(?) patati mastake ॥ (53)

Tr. (When a mantra is) deficient in a syllable it tends to diminish life, and (when it is) lacking in proper accent it makes the reciter troubled with illness, and the syllable (wrongly treated) will strike one at the head as a thunderbolt [53].

NOTE 51a. This corrupt couplet has not been traced anywhere. It may be a late composition in imitation of the preceding couplet.

NOTE 52. The two following couplets occur next in the Ṛk recension and there only.

Hasta-hīnaṃ yo'dhīte svara-varṇa-vivarjitam ।
Ṛg-Yajuḥ-Sāmabhir dagdho viyonim adhigacchati ॥ (54)

Hastena vedaṃ yo'dhīte svara-varṇârtha-saṃyutam ı
Ṛg-Yajuḥ-Sāmabhiḥ pūto brahma-loke mahīyate ıı (55)

Tr. If anybody reads (the Veda) without a show of hands and does not observe proper accents and places of articulation Ṛk, Yajus and Sāman burn him and (on death) he attains rebirth as an inferior animal [54].

And a person who reads the Veda with a show of hands, observes proper accent and places of articulation and knows the meaning of what he reads is purified by the Ṛk, Yajus and the Sāman and is placed high in the realm of Brahman [55].

NOTE 52a. These two couplets with slight variation occur in the Yv. S. (40. 41) and the Māṇḍ. S. (31-32, 33-34). It is possible that the Ṛk recension has adapted them from any of these.

NOTE 53. The two following couplets occur in the Yaj. and the Ṛk recensions and have been commented on by the Pañjikā and the Prakāśa:

Śaṃkaraḥ śāṃkarīṃ prādād Dākṣī-putrāya dhīmate ı
vāṅmayebhyaḥ samāhṛtya devīṃ vācam iti sthitiḥ ıı (56)
Yenâkṣara-samāmnāyam adhigamya Maheśvarāt ı
kṛtsnaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ proktaṃ tasmai Pāṇinaye namaḥ ıı (57)

Tr. Drawing the divine words from the entire domain of speech (*vāṅmaya*) Śaṅkara gave this, his science (Śāṅkarīm) to the wise son of Dākṣī. This is its basis [56].

Homage to that Pāṇini who having received the traditional lore of speech-sounds (Varṇa-samāmnāya) from Śiva has told us the entire grammar [57].

NOTE 53a. These two couplets do not occur in the AP. rec. and 57 is wanting in the Prk. As to the authorship of the so-called Śivasūtras, which is clearly mentioned in them, there is a great divergence of opinion. But it is possible that even if Pāṇini was not their author he was at least responsible for their present form (for details see Introduction, §§ 12-15).

NOTE 54. The two following couplets occur in the Ṛk recension only:

Yena dhautā giraḥ puṃsāṃ vimalaiḥ śabda-vāribhiḥ ı
tamaś câjñānajaṃ bhinnaṃ tasmai Pāṇinaye namaḥ ıı (58)
Ajñānândhasya lokasya jñānāñjana-śalākayā ı
cakṣur unmīlitaṃ yena tasmai Pāṇinaye namaḥ ıı (59)

Tr. Homage to that Pāṇini who has washed off the human speech with pure water of words and has pierced through the gloom of ignorance [58].

Homage to Pāṇini who has opened with the collyrium pencil of knowledge the eyes of people blind with ignorance [59].

NOTE 54a. These two couplets, have not been traced in any available Śikṣā, but the second one seems very much to be an adaptation of the opening śloka of a not very old tract called the Guru-gītā. In the latter work we have *Śrī-gurave* for *Pāṇinaye*.

NOTE 55. The next couplet occurs in the Yaj. and the Ṛk recensions and both the commentaries have touched it. But AP. does not contain it.

Trinayana-mukha-niḥsṛtām imāṃ
ya iha paṭhet prayataḥ sadā dvijaḥ ।
sa bhavati paśu-putra-kīrtimān
sukhaṃ atulaṃ ca samaśnute divi divīti ॥ (60)

Tr. Those among the twice-born who always devoutly read this (work) which has come out of the mouth of Śiva (*lit.* three-eyed one) obtains cattle, progeny, fame and will attain happiness in heaven [60].

NOTE 56. This couplet again ascribes the whole work to Śiva, though from some of the spurious couplets we have, already learnt this. But the fact that this work goes in the name of Pāṇini and not in that of Śiva—in which case it would have had a name like the Śaiva or Śiva Śikṣā, seems to give strong grounds for considering this story as an apocryphal one.



INDEX

1. Phonetic Terms

* Numbers preceded by 'n' refer to Notes and the others refer to number of couplets translated (pp. 49-80).

2. General

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page xii	*Line* 23	*for* and	*read* before
	24	,, it	,, the Yaj
xvi	9	,, re	,, re-
	19	,, more than	,, nearly
	22	,,	*omit* twenty
	26	,, eleven	*read* ones
	29	*after the fullstop read* :	

In his commentary to the PŚ. (Benares, Saṃvat 1990) Pandit Kāliprasād Miśra thinks that Ṛk. 31, 37, 48, 54 and 55 are spurious (p. 27), while another recent editor Pandit Rudraprasād Śarmā in his commentary to the same work (Chowkhamba, Benares, 1937) considers Ṛk. 28, 33, 34, 44, 54 and 55 to be spurious (see his comments on these).

xx	*line* 18	*for* was	*read* were
xxii	6	,, followiug	,, following
xxiii	11 *from the bottom*		
		for lie	,, lies
xxvi	*footnote line* 2		,, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.
	,, ,, 3		,, *svaraśo*
xxix	,, ,, 9	*for* (*op. cit.*)	,, (Pāṇini and the Veda, p. 109).
xxx	,, ,, 1	*after* Sāyaṇa	,, (Introduction to the Ṛgveda-bhāṣya, ed. Peter Peterson p. 56).
xxxiv	*line* 2		,, (*op. cit.*, p. 12).
xxxviii	*footnote* last *line*		,, 4. contra
xxxix	*line* 16	*for* the Pr.	,, the TPr.

Add to the footnote 3 *the following* :

and Liebich, Zur Einführung, pp. 30 ff. and A.B. Keith, A Hist. of Ṣkt. Lit., pp. xxv, xxvi.

Page xlix *line* 12 *after* Pingala *read* :

Miśra evidently under the influence of the commentary Śikṣāprakāśa ascribes the PS. to Piṅgala (pp. 1 and 27). Tripāṭhī too does the same (p. 30). Śarmā however refutes the view and quotes Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in his support (p. 23).

Last *line after the fullstop add* : See also Mangal Dev Shastri, ṚPr., Vol. III, Appendix III (pp. 329-44).

lvii *line* 24 *after the fullstop add* : See Mangal Dev Shastri, ṚPr., Vol. III, p. 141.

lviii *Add to the footnote* 2 *the following* :

It came to my notice afterwards that Bhaṭṭojīdīkṣita ascribes the Ṛktantra-vyākaraṇa to Audavraji. In his Śabdakaustubha he writes : **तथा ऋक्तन्त्रव्याकरणस्य छान्दोग्यलक्षणस्य प्रणेता औदव्रजिरपि असूत्रयत् अनन्त्यान्त्यसंयोगे मध्ये यमः पूर्वस्य गुण इति** (Chowkhamba ed., p. 113).

lxi	*line* 3			*read*	Piṅgala's Chandaḥsūtras.
lxii-lxvi		*for*	Hemistiches	*read*	Hemistichs
9	*line* 9	*for*	गिरस्त:	,,	गिरस्तासां
	,, 6	,,	जाता	,,	ध्माता:
10	footnote 5			*read*	'*omit*'
11	*line* 14			,,	आश्रयस्थानं ययोस्तौ
12	,, 15			,,	कर्तृप्रयोज्यानि करणत्वात्
	footnote 5			,,	'*omit*'
13	,, 5			,,	'*omit*' and '*have*'
15	*line* 16			,,	किमर्थं च
17	footnote 7			,,	'*omits*'
30	*line* 14	*for*	हकां	,,	हकारं
41	,, 13	,,	यत्नौकार	,,	यथौकार
42	,, 12			,,	अङ्कितं

Page 53 *Line* 14 *after* pp. 99 ff. *read* See also Tripāṭhī, p. 5 and Miśra, pp. 28 ff.

65 last *line* *after* to PŚ. *read* :

Tripāṭhī suggests that *dvih-spṛṣṭaḥ* and not *duḥ-spṛṣṭha* is the correct reading and quotes the Varṇaratna-pradīpikā (15) to support this view (pp. 5 f.). Śarmā contradicts him and considers the reading of the passage in the printed text (in the ŚS.) of the work to be defective (see p. 4). Miśra refers to the above-mentioned passage and quotes another view which reckons weakly pronounced *y* and *v* as *durhspṛṣṭa* (p. 4). The ṚPr. (XIII. 3) however takes *y, r, l* and *v* as *duḥspṛṣṭa*, but Dr. Mangal Dev Shastri translates *duḥspṛṣṭa-karaṇa* as imperfect contact (p. 95 of his ṚPr., Vol. III).

58 *Aftar* the Note 15 *add the following* :

Udātta, anudātta and svarita arise from the peculiar conditions of the body called *āyāma*, *viśrambha* and *ākṣepa* respectively. For the definition of these terms see Miśra, p. 7.

59 *line* 20 *read* '*dantamūla*'

Add to the Note 17 *the following* :

Śarmā considers the reading *nāsikoṣṭhau* to be wrong and corrects it to *nāsikauṣṭhau* (p. 7). The grammatical objection raised by him against the accepted reading is valid but the laxity in this matter may be an original feature of the text which was written in the Chāndasa style (*vide* Introduction, 26).

line 4 from the bottom *read* '*ukārâdi paraṃ padam.*'

60 ,, 1 *for* (out of ūṣman) is followed by *read* :
due to sandhi (*prasandhāna*) is followed (in *pausa*) by.

line 3 *for* coming *read* : but in other cases the final *o* is

,, 7 *after* second couplet *insert* : in its present form.

Page 63 *Line* 12 *after the fullstop* *read*: See Miśra on the couplet 18 (p. 10).

line 6 from the bottom, *after the foolstop add*:

Miśra has very intelligently ascertained the correct reading (see p. 11, ll. 18-19). Tripāṭhī too has correctly taken *ekaraikārayor* as the correct reading but his interpretation of the passage is misleading (p. 11, ll. 1 ff.).

64 *line* 15 *read* vivṛta (open).

,, 21 *add after the fullstop the following*:

Miśra thinks that the saṃvṛta sound mentioned in this couplet relates to half *e* and half *o* (*i.e.*, short *e* and short *o*) and refers to Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya (pp. 11 f.)

line 6 in the footnote *read* i and u respectively.

65 ,, 15 *add* See Taitt. Pr., II, 13, 14 ; R.L. Turner in Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume, III, p. 337 ; Jules Bloch, L' Indo-Aryen, p. 33.

Last *line, add the following*:

As Śarmā comments on the Ṛk. recension (p. 10) he feels a difficulty about the interpretation of the passage and invokes the authority of the Śābdaratna but such a difficulty does not arise when we read *upadhmānīya*, etc., between the two hemistichs of Ṛk. 22,

66 *line* 14 *after* '*nāsikya*' add :

(see Mangal Dev Shastri, Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya, Vol. III, pp. 151-52, Notes on I. 41).

line 4 from the bottom *omit* T Pr.

,, 3 from the bottom, *add the following*:

See also Mangal Dev Shastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-44 (Notes on p. 20)

67 *line* 4 *after the fullstop add*:

But in this matter Macdonell follows Whitney ; see 'A Vedic Grammar for Students,' §§ 10f. 29*b*, 39.

Page 68 last *line add the following* :

The Alābu-vīṇā used in modern Indian music was probably invented after the Gupta period, but this should not bring down the date of the above passage. For Alābu-vīṇā mentiond in this passage was in all likelihood a very primitive instrument like our modern *ekatāra* or one-stringed vīṇā quite different from its late development the modern vīṇā. Its very crudity speaks for its great age.

69 *line* 12 *read 'dvir oṣṭyau' and 'yathaukārau.'*

,, 20 *for* does ,, do

,, 21 ,, *'daṃṣṭrābhyāṃ'*

70 2 *after the fullstop add the following* :

From what Miśra says we understand that *patana* (dropping) of letters means spirantizing them and *bheda* (or differentiating) is de-aspiration of them (**अतोवार्जवेणोच्चारणे वर्णा मुक्ता भवन्ति न सम्यग् अवगताः सन्ति ककारोऽयं खकारो वा। न च प्रपोड्योच्चारयेत् येन खकारोऽपि ककारवत् प्रतीयते** (p. 15).

line 4 from the bottom *read 'arā̆ ity' and 'raṅgāḥ'*

,, 3 from the bottom ,, Māṇḍ.

71 ,, 14 *add the following* :

MSS. read *samau bhavet*. But this is grammatically wrong. Hence we tentatively read *samo*. Miśra explains this as an *ārṣa* usage (p. 17).

line 6 from the bottom, *add the following* :

Tripāṭhī explains *pīḍitā* as 'pronounced with more breath which lengthens short vowels' (p. 17).

72 *line* 19 *read* recitation,

,, 24 *add the following* :

Tripāṭhī explains *'likhita-pāṭhakaḥ* as one reading from a book written by oneself' and *alpakaṇṭha* as 'one

who has not practised recitation' (p. 18). So does Śarmā (p. 14) and besides this he considers the couplet No. 33 to be spurious (*loc. cit*).

line 5 from the bottom *read* the place of.

Page 74 *line* 2 *for* ś, ṣ and s *read* ś, ṣ, s and h.

,, 12 *Insert* ; (semicolon) *after* nose *and* , (comma) after *r*.

74 *line* 8 from the bottom *read the following* :

rephasaṃyukto' nādir, etc.

line 7 from the bottom *read* always as an unvoiced sound.

lines 6-4 *omit* 'He seems to have......of the Amoghanandinī Śikṣā.'

75 *line* 9 *read Pāṇinir yas tenedam*'

76 *line* 14, *add the following* :

Śarmā considers the couplet No. 44 to be spurious (p. 18).

77 *line* 5 ff *cancel* the Note 47*c* and *read the following* :

This passage with a slight variation occurs in a late work named the Svarāṣṭaka Ś. by one Ananta (see SS., p. 365. Tripāṭhī, p. 25).

78 *line* 6 *for* the Pñj. *read* some MSS. of the Pñj.

,, 8 *after the fullstop read* :

The original Pñj. probably did not contain this (see p. 22, line 6).

79 12, *add the following* :

Miśra considers couplets 54 and 55 to be spurious (p. 27) and so does Śarmā (p. 21).

**

ADDITIONAL CORRIGENDA

Page vi *lines* 1 and 3 *for* London *read* Lund

xxii *line* 21 *for* 700 B.C. *read* 500 B.C.

lii ,, 4 from the bottom, *for* concludes *read* suggests,

,, last, *read* p. clxvii

liii ,, 13 *insert* as if *before* sitting

55 *lines* 21-23 *omit* The translator of.........indefensible.